ANTICAVALIERISME

OR,

TRVTH PLEADING AS WELL THE NECESSITY, As the Lawfulneſſe of this preſent VVarre, for the ſuppreſsing of that Butcherly brood of Cavalliering Incendiaries, who are now hammering *England*, to make an *Iſland* of it:

WHEREIN

All the materiall Objections againſt the lawfulneſſe of this undertaking, are fully cleared and confuted,

AND

All men that either love God, Themſelves, or good men, exhorted to contribute all manner of aſſiſtance hereunto.

Whereunto is added the bloody intentions of Romiſh Cavaliers againſt the City of *London* above other places, Demonſtrated by five *Arguments*.

By J. O: GOODWIN.

Be not afraid of them: Remember the great Lord and fearefull, and fight for your Brethren, your Sons, and your Daughters, your Wives, and your Houſes. Nehem. 4. 14.

All that take the Sword, ſhall periſh with the Sword. Mat. 26. 52.

Dei Rex Legi, quod Lex Regi, *i.* Imperium ac poteſtatem.

London Printed by *G. E.* and *G. W.* for *Henry Overton*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in Popes-Head-Alley. 1643.

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JUNE 1, 1916

ANTI-CAVALIERISME
OR,
TRUTH PLEADING AS WELL
The Lawfulneſſe, as the Neceſsity of this
PRESENT WAR.

THAT which ſome in the Goſpell ſpake in great amazement, by way of glorifying God, upon occaſion of an unexpected breaking out of his goodneſſe and power, in a miraculous cure, *It was never ſeen after ſuch a faſhion* (*Mar.* 2. 12.) may now be uttered by the Inhabitants of this Kingdome, with aſtoniſhment, to the everlaſting ſhame and infamy of men; upon occaſion of the late breaking out of that fire of rage and cruelty, which yet burneth in the midſt of the bowels of it, and threatens to conſume the very foundations thereof, except it bee ſeaſonably quenched a by gracious rain from on High. And as all that ſaw that inhumane butchering and quartering out into pieces of the *Levites* wife by her owne husband, cryed out, and ſaid, *There was no ſuch thing done or ſeen, ſince the time that the Children of Iſrael came up out of the Land of Ægypt, untill that day*, Judg. 19. 30. So doubtleſſe whoſoever ſhall conſider what bloody and horrid intendments and attempts againſt this Nation, have paſſed the hearts and hands of ſome of her owne Children, may truly ſay, There hath no ſuch thing been done or ſeen in the Land, ſince God firſt cauſed men to live on the face of it.

What ſhall we thinke of that Legion of Devils (I had almoſt called them) who now poſſeſſe the Land, and after the manner of Devils indeed, ſeeke all to rent and teare it in pieces; I meane that Colluvies, that heape, that gathering together of the ſcum, and droſſe, and garbage of the Land, that moſt accurſed confederacy, made up of *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amaleck*, *Philiſtims With the Inhabitants of Tyre*, of Jeſuits, and Papiſts, and Atheiſts, of ſtigmaticall and infamous perſons in all kindes, with that bloody and butcherly Generation, commonly knowne by the name of Cavaliers? Have they not through ſome blacke art or other gotten the chiefe treaſure of the Land, the King, into their poſſeſſion, ſetting him ſtill in the Front of all their deſperate deſignes; which are theſe, and their fellowes: 1. To pull thoſe Stars out of the Firmament of the Land, to diſſolve and ruine that Aſſembly, which is by interpretation, or repreſentation (which you will) the whole Nation. 2. When they have opened this doore of hope unto themſelves, to turne the Lawes, and preſent frame of Government upſide downe. 3. To make havock and deſolation, to roote out the Generation of the Saints ruſh and branch, men and women, young and olde fearing God, out of the Land. 4. To make rapine and ſpoile of all the goods and poſſeſſions; at leaſt of all thoſe that withſtand them, and are not brethren in iniquity with them. 5. To build up the Walls of *Jericho*, to put *Lucifer* againe into heaven, meane, to advance the tyrannicall Thrones of the Hierarchy to their former heighth, or igher, if they know how. 6. By their authority and power to excommunicate and caſt out

pure and precious Ordinances of God out of his Houſe, and to ſupply this defect with [illegible] and ſpurious inſtitutions. 7. To ſpread that Veile, or covering of Antichriſt [illegible] againe over the face of the Land, which God by a moſt gracious hand of providence had rent and taken off many yeares ſince; to leaven the whole lumpe of the Land, the ſecond time, with the ſowre leaven of Romiſh errour and ſuperſtition. 8. And laſtly, as is much to be feared, when they have ſerved their turnes with, and upon the King, and uſed him as an Engine to get all the ſtones together for their building, then to make rubbidge of him, as if they had honoured him ſufficiently, to cauſe ſuch ſacred deſignes as theſe to paſſe through his hands, and made him inſtrumentall, or any wayes acceſſory in ſuch Angelicall atchievements. Doe we thinke that the light of the knowledge of God ſhines in the hearts and conſciences of theſe men? Have theſe men the minde of Chriſt amongſt them? Doe they know who is the Lord? Or doe they not thinke rather, that *Baal*, or *Belial* is he? Have all the workers of iniquity (ſaith *David*) no knowledge, that they eat up my people as they eat bread? *Pſal.* 14. 4. *i. e.* That they injure, vexe, and conſume them with no more remorſe, regret, or touch of conſcience, then they eate and drinke to preſerve their naturall lives: as if ſuch men as theſe, the people of God, were made for the ſame end and purpoſe to them, that bread is, *viz.* to bee eaten up and devoured by them. Have they no knowledge, (ſaith the Prophet) that they dare attempt ſuch a thing as this? Implying (as it ſhould ſeeme) that to vexe, moleſt, perſecute, and deſtroy the people of God, argues the moſt profound ignorance, and thickeſt darkneſſe in the mindes and underſtandings of men, that can likely be found there; and that the weakeſt impreſſions or glimmerings of any true light of knowledge would keepe men from daſhing their foote againſt this ſtone howſoever. If men had but as much knowledge of God, as *Pilates* wife had in a dreame, they would take heed of having any thing to doe with juſt men. And theſe things (ſaith our Saviour to his Diſciples concerning thoſe that ſhould kill them, and thinke they did God ſervice therein) theſe things (ſaith he) they ſhall doe unto you, becauſe they have not knowne the Father, nor me, *Joh.* 16. 3. If men had the leaſt degree of the true knowledge of God in Chriſt, they muſt needs have ſome knowledge of his People and Children alſo: and if they know theſe, this knowledge would be as a hooke in their Noſe, or a bridle in their Lips, to keep them from falling foule upon them, as the knowledge of Chriſt the Lord of glory, would have kept the Princes of this world from crucifying him, had it been in them.

And ſince we are fallen upon the mention of thoſe men who are ready in a poſture of hatred, and malice, and revenge, with other preparations anſwerable hereunto, to fall upon us, and our lives and liberties, both ſpirituall and civill, upon our Eſtates, our Goſpell and Religion, and all that is, or ought to be deare or precious unto us; and in our miſeries and ruines, to render our poſterities more miſerable then we, and have advanced their deſigne this way to that maturity and heighth, which we all know and tremble to thinke of: Give me leave in that which remaines, to excite and ſtir you up, from the greateſt to the leaſt, both young and old, rich and poore, men and women, to quit your ſelves like men, yea, and (if it be poſſible) above the line of men, in this great exigency and ſtreſſe of imminent danger that hangs over your heads, and threatens you every houre. Oh let it be an abomination unto us, as the very ſhadow of death to every man, woman, and childe of us, not to be active, not to lie out and ſtraine our ſelves to the utmoſt of our ſtrength and power in every kinde, as far as the Law of God and nature will ſuffer us, to reſiſt that high hand of iniquity and blood that is ſtretched out againſt us; to make our lives, and our liberties, and our Religion good againſt that accurſed Generation that now magnifieth themſelves, to make a prey and ſpoile of them, to make havoc and deſolation of them all at once, if the Lord ſhall yet pleaſe to deliver us out of their hands. Let not our Lives, our Liberties, our Eſtates, be at all precious or deare unto us in this behalf

to expose them, be it unto the greatest danger, to prevent the certaine and most [illegible] ruine of them otherwise; let us resolve to put all in the hands of God, to prevent the losing of all, or any thing, into the hands of these men. There is neither man nor woman of [illegible] neither young nor old, but hath somewhat or other, more or lesse, a Mite or two at the least to cast into the Treasury of the Publike safetie. Men that have strength of body for the war, and fingers that know how to fight, let them to the Battle, and not feare to looke the enemy in the face. Men and women that have onely Purses and Estates, let them turne them into men and swords for the Battle. Men that have heads, but want armes, and hands for outward execution, let these study and contrive methods and wayes of proceedings: Head-worke is every whit as necessary in such a time and exigent, as hand-worke is. They that have neither hands, nor heads, nor Estates, let them finde hearts to keepe the Mountaine of God, to pray the enemies downe, and the Armies of the Lord up: Let them finde tongues to whet up the courage and resolutions of others. This is a service wherein women also may quit themselves like men, whose prayers commonly are as masculine, and doe as great and severe execution, as the prayers of men. As for little Children that know not the right hand from the left, and so are uncapable of exhortation, or putting on this way by their wreakneſse and innocency (innocency I meane, as concerning the enemies, and giving them the least cause or colour of their bloody intendments, as likewise in respect of crying sins, and horrid provocations of other men) they doe every whit as much towards the furtherance of the service, as men doe by their strength, by their wisdome, by their estates, or otherwise; as we see in the case of GODS sparing *Niniveh*. The sixscore thousand Children that knew not their right hand from the left, were the great intercessors, and chiefe mediators in the behalfe of the City with him. Yea, the bruit beasts themselves, the Cattell, their case and condition working upon the goodnesse and graciousnesse of GOD, were contributors too in their nature towards this service: As is to be seen in the last clause of this place cited from the Prophet *Jonah*. *And should not I spare Niniveh, &c. ..... and also much Cattell.* Therefore now I beseech you that are capable of the great evils and dangers that threaten you, and are even at your doore, be not you wanting and backward in any thing that is in your hand to doe, if it be possible, and as far as in you lyeth, redeeme your lives with your lives, your estates with your estates, your Religion with your Religion, out of the hands of those men, set them all to worke for their owne maintenance & preservation: yet if you know how to create more strength then you have, or to improve your selves seventy times seven fold above the proportion of any your present abilities, I beseech you do it; at least *be willing* (as the Apostle bears the *Corinthians* witnesse they were in a case not altogether unlike) *above that you are able*, that so you may be sure to give out your selves to the utmost of your ability, the more freely.

Give me leave to set an edge upon you, to quicken and encourage you, to strengthen your hand to the worke, by the tender onely of [illegible] motives, or considerations unto you.

1. Consider that the cause, wherein you are desired and exhorted to appeare, and to engage your selves to the utmost, is like unto the Law of God it selfe in those excellent qualifications of it: it is just, and holy, and good: there is nothing in it that should make you ashamed either before God, or justly-judging men, nothing that needes make you tender, or holding off in point of conscience. You are to stand up in the defence of your lives, your liberties, your Estates, your Houses, your Wives, your Children, your Brethren, and that not of this Nation only, but of those two other Nations likewise united under the same government with this, the defence of those Religious and faithfull Governours, that Honourable Assembly of Parliament, whose power and priviledges you stand bound by your solemn Vow and Protestation unto God, (besides many bands of conscience otherwise) to defend and maintaine with your lives, power, and

estates. Yea, in defence of his Majesties royall person, honour, and estate; all which are now in eminent danger to suffer by that accursed retinue of vile persons that are gathered about him, as Ivie about an Oake, which never suffers it to thrive or prosper, till it be torne off from it. This, men that have their eyes open, may easily see and discerne; though others make a mock and a scorne of such an assertion, as ridiculous: But so did *Lots* sons in Sodome, by that saying of his unto them, *That the Lord would destroy the place and City where they were, Gen.* 19. 14. which yet was a serious and solemne truth: Yea, and further, you are exhorted to stand up in defence of the true Protestant Religion, for the name and honour of your God, your Ordinances, and (which ought to be of very deare and precious consideration to you) for the safe conveyance of that great treasure of the Gospell over unto your posterities that are yet unborne. Here is nothing in all this but what the manifest Law of God, and the common light of nature, not only warranteth and alloweth in all men, but even leadeth, perswadeth, yea, urgeth and presseth them unto. Now how should not the goodnesse, equity, and righteousnesse of the cause be as precious seed, out of which a generation of sons and daughters shall be raised up unto it? Yea, and be spirit and life to the undertakers thereof? And encouragement unto them, to plead it with the highest hand of meanes and endeavours they are able to lift up? When there is a cause that hath the image and superscription of God upon it, so full and lively as this hath, is it not pitty it should want Oratours to plead it, that it should suffer and fall to the ground, and none be found to take it up?

Indeed if there were any occasion to make a stand in matter of conscience, if there were any thing doubtfull in the cause recommended to you, any thing to detaine your judgements and consciences in suspence, whether it were lawfull for you or no, to appeare in it, there were just cause to spare and to forbeare you, at least for a time, till you should be fully satisfied. But now the righteousnesse hereof being as cleare as the light, or as the Sun at noone day, why tarry you? why are you not up in your might before this, to maintain it to the uttermost?

Yea, but say the Rabbies and great disputers that stand by your enemies and strengthen their hand that they cannot depart from their wickednesse, that cover, but it is with the covering of the flesh, and of the spirit of the world, not with the covering of the Spirit of the Lord: It is not lawfull (say these men) for you to oppose them, nor to contend any wayes by force against them, because by opposing them, you resist the King the Lords anointed, whom God commands should be obeyed and submitted unto. If you conceive him to be your adversary, yet you ought to oppose him (or rather the adverse disposition of his against you) only with prayers and teares, and supplications unto God for him, and with petitory and humble addresses unto himselfe, but to make no outward resistance at all. To this I answer:

1. By way of concession, that the King is to be obeyed, and that by the expresse commandement of God. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, as supreame, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. Here is submission to the King required in expresse termes, and they that yeeld not the submission here required, resist the Ordinance of God (as the Apostle *Paul* speakes, *Rom.* 13.) and by such resistance shall receive to themselves (*viz.* without repentance) κριμα judgement, or condemnation: God will severely judge or punish them for this resistance. And for my part, I from my soule could wish and desire that the sad distractions and contestations betweene the two opposing parties in the Land, might come to a comprimise, and be issued and ended upon this point: That party that makes most conscience of keeping that Commandement of God which requires submission and obedience unto Kings, to be submitted unto by the other; and that to yeeld, and sit downe, which is most defective this way, and in whom lesse conscience of such obedience appeareth. Only two things I desire may be taken

non notice of from this Scripture where ſubmiſſion to Kings is commanded: Firſt, that a King or Kingly Government, is διϰτισις ανθρωπινη an ordinance of man, or an humane creation (as the Originall properly ſignifieth) which yet we know is no leſſe generally then impudently, and in the face of expreſſe Scripture to the contrary, denyed by the Divinity and learning of the malignant ſection, who by ſwelling the Prerogative of Kings to a monſtrous & moſt unnaturall proportion, as if they had a minde to make it crack before they had done, have conſulted all manner of miſeries and calamities to the world, as well to Kings themſelves, as to their People. *Submit to every ordinance of man* (ſaith *Peter*) *for the Lords ſake, whether it be unto the King, &c.* Therefore he ſuppoſeth the King, or Kingly Government to be the Ordinance, or creation, or creature of man. And it is evident that ſo he is: for there were Kings over the Heathen Nations, with the forme of whoſe government God did no wayes intermeddle by way of any command or appointment concerning it, long before there was any King over * Iſrael, Nor was it the order or command of God, that there ſhould be any King over Iſrael, but hee was highly offended with the people for deſiring it. *Is it not now Wheate Harveſt?* (ſaith *Samuel* to the People) *I will call upon the Lord, and he ſhall ſend thunder, and raine, that you may perceive and ſee, how that your wickednesſe is great, which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord in asking you a King.* And though he condiſcended in a paſſive way, that they ſhould have a King as they deſired, yet as he tells them by the Prophet *Hoſea*, *He gave them a King in his wrath*, and bid them in effect take him at their perills, if they would needs have him, hee ſhould deale but hardly by them. *He would take their ſons, and daughters, and make them ſervile to him*, as you have it, 1 *Sam.* 8.11. It is true, in this ſenſe a King, or Kingly power and government may be ſaid to be from God. Firſt, In a generall or indefinite conſideration, as it is a government, not ſimply, or in it ſelfe unlawfull: For it is the will and appointment of God, that there ſhould be ſome government or other in every ſociety of men, yet not any government neither, not any that is unjuſt, unreaſonable, or tyrannicall: And in this ſenſe all formes of government that are lawfull and juſt, whether they be ſimple, as the three commonly knowne by the names of Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, democracy: or whether they be mixt, having ſomewhat of two, or of all theſe ſimples in them, are equally or indifferently from God: not any one of them determinately, or with excluſion of the reſt. For ſuppoſe all Nations and Societies of men in the world, from the foundations thereof untill now, ſhould have ſet up and exerciſed onely one and the ſame forme of government amongſt them, as *viz.* That which we call Ariſtocraticall (like that in the Low-countries, by ſome choſen amongſt them, whom they call States) ſo that neither the Monarchicall, or Kingly Government, nor yet the Democraticall, nor any other government whatſoever had beene ever practiſed in the world untill this day, wee muſt not thinke that the world had herein ſinned, in not uſing any other, no nor yet neglected any Ordinance of God. Becauſe it is no ordinance or appointment of God that any particular Nation or Society of men, ſhould have either this or that ſpeciall forme of Government amongſt them, but onely that they ſhould have ſome kinde of Government which is juſt and lawfull. Therefore Kingly government is no Ordinance of God in this ſenſe, *viz.* as impoſed upon any Nation or People by way of duty or precept to uſe and ſet up amongſt them. But being ſet up in any people, it is warranted, and countenanced by God as lawfull, and obedience and ſubjection ſtreightly enjoyned thereunto, and therefore the Apoſtles expreſſion, *Rom.* 13.1. is very expreſſe and punctuall this way. *Let every ſoule be ſubject unto the higher powers, for there is no power* (*i.* no juſt and lawfull forme of government) *but is from God*, the powers that are, are ordained (or rather ordered τεταγμεναι) of God. The powers that are: Why doth he ſay the powers that are, are ordained, or ordered by God? Doubtleſſe to ſhew, that there are ſome powers or formes of government, *in actu ſignato*, (as the Schoole-

* See Gen 14.22,23

Schoole-men ſpeak) that is, in reſpect of the ſpecies or kinde, which are not *in actu exercito* actually exerciſed or taken up, nor neede they be taken up by any State or people in the world. But for thoſe that are, i. that are *de facto* eſtabliſhed, and ſet up by any people among themſelves, (ſpeaking onely of thoſe that are lawfull) theſe (ſaith he) are ordained, or rather ordered by God. i. God by ſpeciall inſtinct and worke of Providence (q) inclines the hearts of ſeverall Nations, ſome to imbrace and fall upon one, and ſome upon another, ſome upon that which is Monarchicall, or Kingly, others upon that which is Ariſtocraticall, ſome upon that which is Democraticall, &c. and withall commands, that that which every Nation or People chooſeth for it ſelfe, ſhould be obeyed and ſubmitted unto by thoſe that have choſen it, and live under it, ſo long as it conrinueth, for the time is comming, when Chriſt will put downe all rule, and all authoriry, and power. And this is another ſenſe wherein Kings or Kingly Government may be ſaid to be from God, or to be the Ordinance of God, *viz.* becauſe where it is eſtabliſhed and ſet up, he had a ſpeciall hand in ordering and guiding the hearts of the People to chooſe it before others, and withall commands it to be obeyed, as a Government that is lawfull and authoriſed by him, not as commanded and enjoyned by him.

Thus you have the firſt thing made plaine to you, which was obſerved from the place in *Peter*, which was, that Kingly power or authority is directly and properly the creation or ordinance of man, though there be that in it alſo, which in a ſenſe may give it the denomination of an Ordinance of God; *viz.* 1. As warranted or countenanced by him. 2. As ordered and taken up by thoſe Nations, who have ſubjected themſelves unto it, by the ſpeciall diſpoſall and worke of his providence.

The ſecond thing I deſire you would notice of from the ſame Scripture, is this, that ſubordinate Authority, and inferior Magiſtracie and power is as much the Ordinance of God, as Soveraignty and ſupreame Authority it ſelfe is, and that God by one and the ſame command, requires us to ſubmit our ſelves to inferiour Magiſtrates, or Governours, as well as he doth to Kings themſelves. Reade the paſſage againe, *Therefore ſubmit your ſelves to all manner of Ordinance of man, whether, &c.* So that it is a ſinne of the ſame nature, and renders a man obnoxious to the ſame danger or diſpleaſure from God, to be found in diſobedience to ſubordinate Rulers under the King, as to the King himſelfe. But this for anſwer to the Objection in the firſt place, by way of conceſſion or grant, That the King doubtleſſe is to be obeyed.

But ſecondly, by way of exception I anſwer further, that though the King be to be obeyed and ſubmitted unto, yet the obedience was never intended by God to be univerſall, but with limitation, *viz.* in ſuch commands wherein a mans obedience to the King, ſhould not be found diſobedience againſt God: for in theſe caſes, That of the Apoſtles *Peter* and *John* to the Rulers, Elders, and chiefe Prieſts muſt take place, *Act.* 4. 19. *Whether it be right in the ſight of God to obey you, rather than God, judge ye.* The debt of obedience to God muſt always be paid, whoſoever loſeth by the hand: Though the truth is, that there is no creature, King nor other, that can loſe any thing due to him by any mans obedience unto God. The Apoſtles were ſo confident of the righteouſneſſe of their cauſe in diſobeying their Rulers in that, wherein they obeyed God, that they feared not to make their Adverſaries themſelves their Judges therein: *Judge yee.* If a King ſhould command me not to pray for the generall good, or peace of the Church or State where I live, or to forbeare the doing of any thing, which I conceive I am bound in conſcience unto God to doe for the publique good, I am not in this caſe any whit more bound to obey the Kings command, then the Apoſtles *Peter* and *John* were to obey the command of the Rulers & Elders, who charged them to give over Preaching the Goſpell, or then *Shadracke*, *Meſhach*, and *Abednego* were to worſhip the golden Image, becauſe *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded it. This limitation

tion, is plainly enough expreſſed in that very Scripture, wherein we heard obedience unto Kings commanded, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *Submit your ſelves* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *to every Ordinance of man, for the Lords ſake.* If we ought to ſubmit for the *Lords ſake*, i. Either for that love we beare to him, or out of conſcience of that obedience which we owe unto him, we ought not to ſubmit in any thing whereby God may be diſhonoured or diſobeyed. It is ſenſeleſſe to thinke, that any thing can, or ought to be done for the Lords ſake, which cannot be done but to his diſhonour, or (which is the ſame) with diſobedience to him.

Yea, but it will ſtill be objected, though it be true, that Kings are not to be obeyed in any of thoſe commands that are unlawfull, in an active way, we are not alwayes to doe what they would have us to doe, nor to ceaſe or forbeare the doing of what they would have us forbeare; yet are they even in ſuch caſes to be obeyed paſſively: Men are to ſuffer patiently any Puniſhment they deſire to inflict upon them, for refuſing any ſuch obedience; or however, they are not forcibly to reſiſt.

To theſe things likewiſe I anſwer, 1. That the unlawfull command of a King, may poſſibly be of that nature and condition: that a Subject cannot diſobey it, but by a ſtrong hand, and taking up of Armes, though not properly or directly againſt the King, yet againſt the command of a King. In ſuch a caſe, diſobedience to Kings by a ſtrong hand and with forcible reſiſtance, is not only lawfull, but even matter of duty and obedience unto God. For inſtance, A Chriſtian hath ſolemnly vowed & proteſted before *God* to defend the lives of his godly and faithfull Governors to the utmoſt of his power: or whether he hath made ſuch a vow and Proteſtation or no, it is not much materiall in this reſpect, becauſe he ſtands bound in conſcience otherwiſe, and by the Law of God, to doe it. Now ſuppoſe ſuch a man cannot performe this Vow, or doe that which is his duty to doe otherwiſe therein, but by a ſtrong hand, and taking up Armes; in this caſe, if a King commands ſuch a man not to take up Armes in relation to ſuch a defence, it is evident that this unlawfull command of a King cannot be diſobeyed, but by taking up Armes againſt it. There are many other caſes of the ſame conſideration and rule with this.

2. I anſwer further, That it is one thing to offer violence to the perſon of a King, or Ruler, or to attempt the taking away of his life; another to ſecure a mans own life, or the life of another, whom we know to be innocent, and much more the publike ſafety, by ſtrengthning a mans ſelfe to withſtand the violent execution of any unjuſt command from a King, by thoſe that have no right or lawfull authority at all, to doe any ſuch execution upon us. As for offering violence to the perſon of a King, or attempting to take away his life, we leave the proofe of the lawfulneſſe of this, to thoſe profound diſputers the Jeſuits, who ſtand ingaged by the tenour of their profeſſed Doctrine and practiſe, either to make good the lawfulneſſe thereof, or elſe to leave themſelves and their Religion an abhorring and hiſſing unto the world. As for us who never travelled with any deſires or thoughts that way, but abhor both mother and daughter, doctrine and practiſe together, we conceive it to be a juſt Prerogative of the Perſons of Kings in what caſe ſoever, to be ſecure from the violence of men; and their lives to be as conſecrated corne, meet to be reaped and gathered only by the hand of God himſelfe. *Davids* conſcience ſmote him, when he came but ſo neare the life of a King, as the cutting off the lap of his garment.

But as concerning a forcible withſtanding, or reſiſtance making, againſt a violent execution of any unjuſt command from a King, attempted by thoſe that have no rightfull or lawfull authority to doe ſuch execution either upon us or others, yea though the King himſelfe be at hand to ſecond his inſtruments in the execution of ſuch commands, we have ſufficient warrant for the lawfulneſſe hereof in the Scriptures themſelves. When *Ahab* ſent a Cavaleer (you may call him) a man of blood, to take away the Prophet *Eliſha's* head, as he ſat in his houſe amongſt the Elders, 2 *King.* 6. 32. did *Eliſha* let open his doore for him, and ſit ſtill till he tooke off his

head,

head, in obedience to the King? No, hee beſtirred himſelfe for the ſafeguard of his life, and called upon others to ſtand by him, and aſſiſt him againſt that outrage & violence intended againſt him: yea, and this without any brand or blemiſh of any rebellion or diſobedience to the King; yea, though he ſpake ſomewhat roundly and freely of the King himſelfe. *See ye not* (ſaith he to the Elders that were with him) *how this ſon of a murtherer* (meaning no beggers, no leſſe then *Iehoram* himſelfe, the King) *hath ſent to take away mine head? Take heed when the Meſſenger commeth, and ſhut the doore, and handle him roughly * at the doore: Is not the ſound of his Maſters feet behind him?* Surely he that went thus farre, for the ſafety of his life, when he was but in danger of being aſſaulted, would have gone further, if occaſion or neceſſity had been; and in caſe the Kings butcher had got in to him before the doore had been ſhut, if he had been able, and had had no other meanes to have ſaved his owne head, but by taking away the others, there is little queſtion to be made, but he would rather have taken, then given a head, in this caſe. So when *Saul* the King would needs have had *Ionathan* put to death, yea, and had bound himſelfe with an oath or curſe to have it ſo (yea and that twice over for failing) the people knowing that *Ionathan* had committed nothing worthy of death (though the King thought he had) but that contrarily, he had deſerved well of the State, and had *mightily delivered Iſrael*, (as the words of the Text are) delivered him by a ſtrong hand, out of the hand of *Saul*. 1 *Sam.* 14.45. Neither is there the leaſt aſperſion or imputation caſt upon this People for this fact of theirs, as if they had beene any wayes injurious or diſobedient to their King. Nay, it appeares by the ſequell of the Story, that *Saul* himſelfe, though a man not of the beſt diſpoſition, when the *turbidum intervallum*, the fit of paſſion was over, tooke it no wayes amiſſe at the hands of the people, that they had reſiſted him, in that unreaſonable and inconſiderate deſigne of his againſt *Ionathan*: but went on, and raigned peaceably over them. *David* in like manner, being unjuſtly perſecuted by *Saul*, and thoſe graceleſſe and baſe flatterers that aſſiſted him in that ungracious deſigne, and being in danger of his life by them, did he either ſit ſtill, to ſee whether God would in an extraordinary and miraculous way protect him or no? Or did he ſubmit himſelfe to *Sauls* mercy, and lay downe his life at his feet? No, but on the contrary, he provided himſelfe with weapons, the beſt that were to be had, 1 *Sam.* 21.8,9. And willingly entertained for the ſafeguard of life, and to make reſiſtance againſt *Saul* and his party, all the helpe of men he could come by, making himſelfe an head or captaine over them, 1 *Sam.* 22.2. And yet all this while *David* was but one ſingle man, and that of private and meane condition in comparison.

And this (my Brethren) is the very caſe that is now before you, or if there be any difference in reſpect of a juſtifiableneſſe in the one above the other, all the advantage, which certainly is very much, lies on your ſide, your ſcale is much the better weight. There are ſonnes of *Belial* that are riſen up againſt you, full of ſpite of hatred, and revenge againſt you, who partly in plaine words, and without Parables, partly by their inſolent carriages and behaviours towards others of the ſame ſpirit and cauſe with you, threaten you with the utmoſt inſolencies they can execute upon you, and (in effect) to ſtretch the line of miſerable and wofull *Ireland*, over you and your City, and whole Nation. Theſe either have, or pretend to haue a Warrant or Commiſſion from the King to doe what they doe, to make prey and ſpoyle of you, your lives and liberties, and all that you have; juſt as the Meſſenger had from *Ahab*, that was ſent to take away the Prophets head (as you heard) or as thoſe had from *Saul*, that went to lay hold of *Ionathan* to put him to death. Now then the queſtion is, whether it be lawfull for you to ſtand upon your guard in this caſe, and ſeeke the preſervation of your lives, and of thoſe that belong unto you, wives, and little ones, &c. and if there be no other likely meanes for your ſafety, to deſtroy the lives of thoſe that ſeeke to deſtroy yours; whether the command of the King (ſuppoſe ſuch a thing were, which yet I much queſtion) to wicked inſtruments to

take

take away your lives, or the lives of those whom you are bound, by oath or otherwise to protect; whether (I say) such a command ought more to prevaile with you to sit still and suffer the destroyer to execute his Commission upon you, to take away your lives, or the command of God and nature which lies upon you to defend your lives, and the lives of such others, as we spake of, when they are assaulted, or in danger of assault? This fairely and unpartially is the State of the present question. The great Prophet *Elisha* (as we heard) and the people of *Israel* under *Saul*, and the man according to Gods own heart, resolved the question clearely enough by their practise.

If it be here objected and said, it is true, such acts as you have related were indeed done by these men: but, *Quo jure*, whether they did well or lawfully in so doing, is yet in question: An act done by a good man, fearing God, is not therefore good, or lawfully done; because such a man doth it: The ancient Fathers were generally Polygamists. In like manner, the actions mentioned, having no testimony of approbation from the Scriptures, may very possibly bee workes of darknesse, though done by children of light; yea, though there bee no expresse brand of unlawfulnesse set upon them by God: for Polygamy it selfe hath this negative testimony of its innocency.

To this I answer, first in generall: That though the goodnesse and holinesse of the person be not sufficient to authorize an act for lawfull, yet whilest the unlawfulnesse of it bee clearly evicted by a contrariety in it to some command of God, it is a strong presumption, that an act performed by such a person, is lawfull: To the instance of Polygamy in the Fathers: I answer, that it was apparantly a breach of the seventh Commandement, and contrary to the first institution of marriage by God; the tenour whereof, according to our Saviours owne extract out of the ancient Record, runnes thus. *Matt.* 19.5. *And they twaine* (not they three, or they foure, or more) *shall be one flesh.* And besides, it is plainly branded and condemned by the Spirit of God, as sinfull, *Mal.* 2.14,15. as the generall Vote of interpreters upon this place carrieth it. But there is not the least intimation given throughout the whole Scriptures, of any thing sinfull or displeasing unto God, in what either *Elisha*, or the people, or *David* did, in the particulars mentioned.

Those acts of *Solomon*, commanding *Joab* and *Shimei* to be put to death, without any triall or due processe of Law against them, 1 *King.* 2. and so that of *David*, giving away *Mephibosheths* estate to *Ziba*, onely upon a displeasure conceived against him, with some others of other Kings of *Judah*, of like consideration, smelling too ranke of prerogative Oyle, are much more questionable in point of lawfulnesse, and of farre more difficult reconciliation, with principles of reason and equity, and with the Law of God it selfe then those other. But,

2. To the particular I answer. First, for the fact of the Prophet *Elisha*, calling out to those that were with him, to lay hands upon him that came armed with the Kings authority and command, to take away his head, and to shut the doore against him; that in this he did nothing but what was pleasing unto God, appeares from the circumstance of time, and that posture of spirit wherein the Prophet thus contended for his head against him that would needs have it from him. He was now full of the Spirit of God, and of prophecie: and was in that very instant, wherein his head should have beene taken from him, ready to cry out as a woman in travell, and to be delivered of that gracious message, which immediatly followes in the beginning of the succeeding Chapter. Now that so holy a man, and so great a Prophet, should in that very point and instant of time, wherein he was full of the Spirit of God, and ready to deliver a message from him of that high importance and unexpected grace to his people, fall into the foule sinne of Rebellion against his lawfull King, is doubtlesse an incredibility of the first magnitude.

Secondly, the Elders or Statesmen of the Kingdome, who were present, complyed with him in his motion, and assisted him in his opposition against the Kings messenger, who came for his head; laid hands upon him and suffered him not to enter: which appeares from hence, because the Prophets head stood still upon his shoulders. And this is yet a further confirmation of the lawfulnesse of that resistance which he made, because it is unreasonable to thinke, that persons of that quality, and who cannot be conceived but to have understood themselves sufficiently in a businesse of that nature, being the Peeres or chiefe Officers of the Kingdome, should have involved themselves in the danger and guilt of rebellion, against the King; which (doubtlesse) they had done had that act of the Prophet, whereof they were abbettors, had any streine or touch of Rebellion in it.

Thirdly, and lastly, the King himselfe (it seemes) comming very shortly after into the place where the Prophet and Elders were, finding the execution, which in hot blood hee had commanded, not done, the heat of his passion being somewhat over and abated, sate down amongst them, and never so much as reproved either Prophet or Elders, for making the resistance they did to his messenger: which it is like he would have done, and that upon high termes, had hee conceived either the one or the other to have been within the Verge of a Rebellion; or any other injury or indignity offered either to his person, or to his Crowne and dignity.

Againe, secondly, for the people who delivered *Ionathan* out of the hand of *Saul*, there is no colour to conceive any thing unlawfull or unjustifiable therein. Evident it is that themselves looked upon this fact before it was done, not onely as a thing lawfull for them to doe, but as matters of duty, and that which in conscience they were bound to doe. That expression of theirs implies as much: *Shall Ionathan die, who hath so mightily delivered Israel? God forbid.* (1 Sam. 14. 45.) *As the Lord liveth there shall not one haire of his head fall to the ground.* They conceived, that it had beene a sinne of a very high nature in them, if they should not have appeared for his rescue and deliverance, whom they not onely knew to be innocent, and to have done nothing worthy of death, but also *to have wrought with God* for their deliverance. Nor is it easie to conceive what other ground or motive should have induced this people to run the hazard of the Kings displeasure in *Ionathans* protection, then conscience onely: though its true, there is no intimation given of any complaint made, nor of any offence conceived by *Saul* against the people for this fact of theirs, which is another argument of the lawfulnesse thereof, yea, and of the unprejudicialnesse or in-offensivenesse of it to *Sauls* kingly Throne and dignity, considering how tender and jealous *Saul* was of these, and how impatient of the least touch (yea, though but imaginary onely) in them, as appeares in the sequell of his History, especially by his violent persecution of *David*, upon very light and loose grounds of suspition this way.

Lastly, concerning *Davids* gathering a strength of men and armes to him, whereby to make resistance against *Saul*, or rather against that bloudy association which conspired with him in a most unjust way, to take away his life; evident it is,

1. That *David*, all the time of this his unjust persecution by *Saul* and his complices, being still in eminent danger of his life, was more soft and tender conscienced then ordinary; and more afraid of sinning against God; yea, and prayed both more frequently and more fervently unto God to be preserved from sinne, then at other times: as appeares by many Psalmes composed by him, during this his triall. Now it is a thing altogether incredible, *that a man* otherwise *according to Gods owne Heart*, under the best and safest frame of spirit and conscience, that ever he lived in, and whilst he made it his earnest prayer unto God daily to be kept from sinne, should so fouly miscary, as to live in the sinne of Rebellion against his lawfull King without repentance.

2. That

2. That he respected and honoured *Saul* very highly, and was very tender of doing him the least harme. It is said, *that his heart smote him, because he had cut off but the lap or skirt of his garment*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. Using moreover these words to his servants, whose fingers itch'd to have made sure worke with *Saul*; *The Lord forbid that I should do this thing to my Master, the Lords anointed, to stretch forth mine hand against him, seeing he is the anointed of the Lord*, verse 6. Therefore certainly *David* in defending himselfe against *Sauls* Cavaleers with Armes and Men, neither offended God, nor wronged *Saul* himselfe in the least measure, Yea,

3. *Saul* himselfe overcome with this expression of *Davids* love, and faithfulnesse unto him, acknowledged his innocency, and the uprightnesse of his heart towards him, verse 16. *Is this thy voyce, my sonne David*, (saith *Saul*) *and lift up his voyce and wept? And said to David, thou art more righteous then I: for thou hast rendred me good, and I have rendred thee evill. And thou hast shewed this day that thou hast dealt well with me, &c.* *Saul* did not onely acquit him from those high crimes of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition, &c. But from all manner of injury or injustice at all done unto him. And if *Saul*, against whom the offence (if any) had beene committed, justifieth him, who shall with any colour of equity condemne him?

Lastly (for this particular) the holy Ghost himselfe gives this expresse testimony concerning *David*; *That he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and turned from nothing that hee commanded him all the dayes of his life, save onely in the matter of Uriah the Hittite*, 1 *Kings* 15. 5. Whereas, if that fact of his, defending himselfe by force of armes, against *Saul* and his confederates in blood against him, had been of any such interpretation, as some would make it (by making other cases like unto it) as either treason, rebellion, or the like; doubtlesse this had been an higher and greater matter of exception against him, then the matter of *Uriah* it selfe. But yet farther that their practice in the particular mentioned respectively, and so yours, being onely conformable thereunto, was, and is every wayes iustifiable; and of perfect consistence with the rules of reason, equity and all good conscience, and no waies to derogatory Kingly power & authority, I remonstrate and prove by this one consideration.

Men that have no lawfull authority or power to take away the lives or goods of men, may very lawfully be resisted in any attempt they shall make, to doe either; and if their lives miscarry in such attempts, they have their meanes in their owne hands, (as wee say) their blood is upon their owne heads. This I suppose is a pregnant and knowne principle both in reason and religion. If a man assaults another upon the high way, and seekes to take away his money or life from him; if the person assaulted slayes the other *se defendendo* (as the Law speakes) there is neither Law nor conscience will take hold on, or reprove him for it. This proposition is manifest. I goe on therefore and adde,

But men can have no lawfull authority or power, by any warrant or commission from a King to take away the lives, or goods of those that are innocent and have not transgressed the Law, no not of those that are not in a lawfull way convicted for transgressors of the Law.

Therefore such men as these may lawfully be resisted in any attempts they shall make either upon our lives, or our goods, notwithstanding any warrant, commission, or command they have, or pretend to have, from a King to doe it. And take that along with you which apparently followes from hence: If such persons so assaulted may lawfully assist such assailants, then may they every whit as lawfully provide themselves aforehand of such meanes, wherewith they may be able to make the resistance when time comes. As if it be lawfull for a Traveller to kill a thiele upon the way in the defence of his life, or money; certainely it is lawfull for him to ride with a Sword, Pistoll, or the like, wherewith he may be able to doe it; It is ridiculous to grant the lawfulnesse of an end, and to deny a lawfulnesse of meanes necessary and sufficient to attaine that end.

But some (it may be) will deny that proposition, which affirmeth, that those men have no lawfull power or authority to seize upon mens lives or goods who are innocent, and as yet so reputed by the Law, having the authority and command of the King to doe it. That therefore no unjust, or unrighteous command of a King, can enable any man with any lawfull power to put in execution any such command, I thus demonstrate (though indeed it be a thing evident enough in it selfe without any demonstration) no King can derive any power or authority to another, to any minister, officer, or the like, but only that wherewith himself is invested, and possessed of, either formally, or by way of eminency and surplussage. But no King is himself invested with any authority or power to do any thing which is unjust, or unrighteous: therefore he cannot impart or give any such power to another: and consequently those that attempt or do any thing by vertue of any unjust command from a King, had every whit as good do the thing upon their owne heads and authority, without any warrant or commission from the King at all: the fact as touching the lawfulnesse of it, is but of one and the same consideration in both cases. Now that a King himself hath no power or authority at all, to doe any thing that is unjust or unequal, is yet more evident then the former, thus: All power that a King hath in point of goverment, is derived upon him, either by God, or by men, or both: but it is a truth of the cleerest evidence, that neither the one nor the other, neither God, nor man conferreth any power upon him to do unjustly. Concerning God, there is not the least question to be made: he gives no man authority to sin, but laies his authority and command upon all the world to do righteously; and as for men, supposing they be but reasonable men that have conferred the power upon a King, it cannot be thought, or once imagined, that they should give a power out of themselves, against themselves; a power to injure, or to wrong either them or their posterity. And though they should be conceived to do a thing so inconsistent with reason and even common sense, yet such an act of theirs, were a meere nullity: the King was never the more possest of any such power, because they that are supposed to have conferred it upon him, had it not in themselves, nor the least right or power to derive it upon any other.

Yea, but (will the malignant Doctors) still object and reply, who shall be Judge in this case, Whether the command or commission of a King, given to an Officer, or other subiect, to be put in execution, be unjust, or no? Is it not fit, that rather the King himself should be judge in this case, then every private man? Is it not fit to give way, or allow, that every private man should scan, examine, judge, and determine either the righteousnesse or unrighteousnesse of the Kings command? Doth not such a liberty as this tend to dissolve the bands of obedience to Superiours? To procure contempt upon Kings and Rulers, and to fill the world with confusion?

To this I answer, First, that for many things that are commanded by Kings and Superiours, there needs little or no examination or sifting, whether they be lawfull, or no. Their unlawfulnesse is written (as it were) in their foreheads, with such Capitall Letters, that he that runs may reade it. A man needs no skill either in Arithmetique or Geometry, nor the use of any rule or square, to try either whether the bow be streight, or the string bent and crooked. Halfe an eye is sufficient provision for this decision. The command of that Idolatrous King *Nebuchadnezzar* with his Nobles, that men should worship his golden Image, was so notoriously wicked, that those three servants of God, *Shadrach*, *Meshech*, and *Abednego*, were *not carefull to answer the King concerning it*, Dan. 3. 16. that is, they would never take time to study or consider whether they should obey it, or no. Such was the command of the Elders and Rulers of *Peter* and *John*, *When they commanded them that in no wise they should speake or teach in the Name of Jesus*, Act. 3. 18, 19. Besides many others both upon Sacred, Ecclesiastick, and Civill Record, of like condition and importance.

2. If it be not lawfull for inferiours to examine and enquire into the commands of Kings, and

and other their Superiours, whether they be lawfull or no; then is there a necessity lying upon men by way of duty, to make men equall with God, and to judge them as unerringly, as universally righteous and holy, as he; which a man of conscience will hardly forbeare to call blasphemy. The sequell is evident: Because men can rise no higher in their thoughts and apprehensions of God himselfe in this kinde, then to judge him absolutely and unquestionably righteous, worthy to be obeyed, in whatsoever he shall command, without examination.

3. If men were either bound to, or lawfully might obey their Superiours without all examination, there would be no place left for that command of our Saviour, wherein he prohibites his friends and servants, to feare those that could only kill the body; meaning by such, either only or principally Kings and Rulers, who are commonly said to have *potestatem vitæ & necis*, power of life and death. There is no reason to thinke, that either Kings or Rulers should take away the lives of those that will comply with them in all their desires and commands: and as little reason is there for any man to thinke, that men should run the hazzard of being killed, by disobeying the commands and will of Kings, if they might safely, and with the peace of a good conscience obey and comply with them.

4. It is no more disparagement or dishonour to Kings or Rulers to have their commands examined by those to whom they are directed and given, then it was for *Paul* and the rest of the Apostles to have their preachings and doctrines examined by the inferiour sort of Christians that heard them. These were every whit as great (if not far greater) in Spirituall authority and dignity, as Kings themselves are in politique and civill. Now the holy Ghost is so far from reproving those, who examined the things which they heard from *Paul* himselfe, that he hath left it upon record as matter of speciall commendation to them, *That they daily searched the Scriptures, whether things were so or no*, as he had taught them, *Act.* 17. 11. Yea the Apostles themselves were so far from looking upon it, as any matter of prejudice to them, or their reputations, that what they delivered and taught, should be brought to the touch-stone by those that heard them, that they required this at their hands by way of duty, and exhorted them unto it. See 1 *Cor.* 10. 14. 1 *Thes.* 5. 21. *&c.* And yet far greater reason is there, why the teaching of the Apostles should have been ἀνυπεύθυνα, *i.* priviledged from account, then the commands of Kings: because they had a promise of such a presence of the *Spirit of truth* with them, *that he should lead them into the Way of all truth*; whereas Kings, both in the framing and publishing of their commands, are left to an arbitrary assistance from Heaven, after the manner of other men.

5. *The Wrath of God hath been revealed from Heaven*, *i.* hath been shewed in very remarkable and exemplary manner, upon those who have swallowed the commands of Kings, and submitted unto them in things unlawfull. Those Officers that obeyed King *Nebuchadnezzars* command in casting those three innocent servants of God into the fiery furnace, were suddenly consumed by the flame that came out of the furnace; whereas those that strained at the Kings command, and exchanged it (as the Scripture phrase is) meaning (I conceive) for the commandement of God, obeying this in the stead, remained untouched of the fire in the midst of the furnace, *Dan.* 3. 21. So the men of Israel that had obeyed the commandement of *Saul* in giving their assistance to him for the persecuting of *David*, were punished together with *Saul*, fleeing and falling downe wounded before the Philistins, as *Pet. Mart.* hath well observed upon 1 *Sam.* 31. 1. So of that great Host of Assyrians, that joyned with their King in an unlawfull war against the Church and People of God, there were 185000. slain in one night by an Angell, 2 *King.* 19. 35. To passe by all other examples of the severity of God in this kinde, that is most worthy consideration, which is recorded, 2 *Chron.* 24. It is said, ver. 17. *That after the death of Jehoida, the Princes of Juda came & did reverence unto the King, and that the King hearkened to them.*

Not

not long after, They conspired together against Zacharias, a faithfull Prophet of the Lord, for telling faithfully with them, *and at the King's commandement, stoned him with stones in the Court of the house of the Lord*. ver. 21. *But* (saith the story, ver. 23.) *it came to passe at the end of the yeare, that the Host of Syria came up against him: and they came to Iuda and Ierusalem, and destroyed all the Princes of the people from among the people, &c.* The iust revenging hand of God, singling out from amongst many thousands, those persons by name who had obeyed the King in a way of unrighteousnesse, though they were the chiefest and greatest of them, and in that respect (in all likelihood) kept farthest off from the danger, and had more outward provision for their safety, then others.

6. (And lastly for this) If this liberty we speake of, of examining the commands of Kings and other Superiors, were granted unto, and used by those that are in subjection, it would not devest or bereave Kings or Rulers of any obedience at all, that were worth the having or receiving from men, or that were truly honourable or safe for them to receive. All that in reason it could be conceived to do in this kind, is to prevent and cut off all such obedience from Kings, which would endanger their cutting off, and their States and Kingdomes with them. If this liberty, or duty rather, of examining the commands of Superiours, had been preached and pressed upon the consciences of men with that authority and power, which the truth & high concernment of it will beare, or rather (indeed) required, those Crownes might have flourished upon the heads of Kings, which now begin to droope and languish; and those Nations enjoyed abundance of peace under them, the foundations of whose safety are now shaken; *Ephraim is oppressed and broken in iudgement; because he willingly followed the commandement, viz.* of King *Ieroboam*, who commanded the worshipping of the Golden Calfe, *Hos.* 5.11. Here is the fruit of the forwardnesse of a Nation to obey and comply with an Idolatrous King, even to be *oppressed and broken in iudgement, i.* Not only to be sorely afflicted, but utterly ruined and destroyed, and that in a course of Justice, and of the righteous proceedings of God against them. In this cup of trembling and astonishment which they were compelled to drinke from the hand of God, there was none other ingredient, but their own wayes; and that which it seemes was predominant in the mixture, was their forwardnesse to side with their King, in that false religion and worship which he maintained. And for the ruine and destruction of *Ieroboam* himselfe and his house, that is much considerable from the pen of the holy Ghost, that it is not ascribed so much to his sin and wickednesse in commanding Idolatry, as to the sin and wickednesse of the people in obeying. *And this thing* (saith the history, speaking of *Ieroboams* Calfe, and command given to the people to worship them. 1 *King.* 12.30.) *turned to sin*, meaning to a provocation of a very high nature, to such a sin, *which* even *rooted out and destroyed the house of Ieroboam from the face of the earth*, Cha. 13.34. But how, or by what means did *Ieroboams* Calves and Idolatrous commands concerning them, turn to such a sin or provocation, as was his ruine? The holy Ghost ascribes this to the obedience of the people in this behalfe; *And this thing turned to sin: for the people went to worship before the one, even unto Dan.* Clearely implying, that that sin which was the ruine and rooting out of *Ieroboam* and his house, was not so much his wicked and Idolatrous command, considered simply and in it selfe, but as it found obedience and subiection in the people. The people in true account, who magnified *Ieroboam* in his commands above God in his, were they that ruined both *Ieroboam* and his House. And generally, all that Kings and Princes gaine by an unlawfull subiection and obedience from their people, is little else but the kindling of the fire of Gods iealousie against them. *I am the Lord* (saith God, *Esa.* 42. 8.) *this is my Name: and my glory will I not give to another; i.* I will not suffer it to be given to, nor to be received by another; I will sell it deare to him that shall owne it, and will recover it out of his ruine. We know *Herod* was smitten by an Angell from heaven, and soone cast

the

that morsell of divine honour which he had swallowed, by a miserable, shamefull, and loathsome death. As those that make Images of wood, stone, silver, gold, or the like, to be adored and worshipped, doe the greatest injury that may be to those poore innocent creatures; hey expose them to the fury and jealousie of God, whereby they commonly suffer a dissolution of their being before their time, as the brasse whereof the brazen Serpent was made, did, being *broken all to pieces, when Incense was once offered unto it*, 2 *Kin.* 18.4. and the gold whereof *Aarons* Calfe was made, being *burnt in the fire, and stamped and ground small, even to very dust, and this also cast into the river*, *Deut.* 9.21. So they will devest the great God of heaven and earth, to cloath Kings and Princes, or whomsoever, with the spoiles of his Name, as all those doe, who obey them with disobedience unto God, as in one sence they make them gods, so in another, by making them gods, they make them indeed more men then they were, more obnoxious to his displeasure, who hath the command of their life and breath. Consider that passage (to omit many others of like importance) which you shall find, *Esa.* 1.31. *And the strong*, i. the Idoll, either because in the idolaters conceit, it is strong like a god, or rather strong, in respect of the firmenesse and durablenes of the matter of it, *shall be as Tow, and the maker thereof as a spark; they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.* Mark well: How strong and durable soever the matter is, whereof the Idoll is made, whether it be the best heart of Oake that can be gotten, or the hardest and firmest stone, silver, gold, or the like, or if there be any thing more durable, and more resisting corruption, then these, yet being made an Idoll, it becomes *as Tow*, i. of a very weak and perishable nature: *and the maker of it* (saith he) *shall be as a Spark*, *viz.* to set this Tow on fire; meaning that he is the cause both why that good substance, which was made into an Idol, perisheth so suddenly, and likewise of his owne perishing by the hand and judgement of God. In like manner when men or women shall make idols of Kings and Princes, and great men, and fall down before them, and worship them with divine worship, as all they in effect do, who yeeld obedience unto them against God, what do they else but shake the very foundations of their lives, and present beings in the World, and call for the fire of Gods jealosie from heaven to consume them? Whereas on the contrary, those that soberly and out of conscience refuse to obey them upon such termes, I mean against God, they do them as good service, if they would please so to apprehend and interpret it, as *Mordecai* did to King *Ahasuerosh*, when he revealed the treason of the two Eunuchs against him, He that refuseth to obey a Superiour in an unlawfull command, giveth notice to him, that his foot is in a snare of death, and that his preserveation stands in his desisting and repenting.

I shall mention only one objection more; wherewith that unhappy learning of the contrary side, useth to be very importune, and to triumph much in it. The Christians in the primitive times submitted themselves with patience to those most uniust & cruell commands of the heathen Emperours, when they sent their Officers to put them to execution, and to take their lives from them: they never resisted, nor stood upon their guard, but tooke even death it selfe, yea, and many times torments worse than death patiently. And whereas this might otherwise be sufficiently answered, that they made no resistance, because they were not able, they had no considerable strength to make good any resistance; to take away this answer, they usually cite a place out of the Fathers, * *Tertullian* by name, wherein he disclaimes this ground of their patience in suffring, writing unto the States or Senators of the Empire, affirming, that they had a considerable party of Christians in their Dominions, whereby they were able to have made resistance against them.

Because this objection is matter of so much confidence and triumph to the adversary, I shall desire leave to examine it the more thoroughly, and search the bottome and foundations of it in my answer to it, I shall first speak to the testimony propounded, and consider the

* Si enim & hoste exertos, non tantum vinces occu tos, age vellemu decit n bis vis merorum & copi rum? Extern sumus, vestra nia im vimus bes, in las, ca la, mu cipia, ciliabu castra &c. bello idone promp fuissen Tertul polog. 37.

validity or likelihood of the truth thereof; and secondly, (for argument sake) the truth of it being granted or supposed, we shall indeavour to shew of how little force or concernement it is, any wayes to disable the truth of that position we have in hand, which justifieth a resistance against the violent execution of any unjust command from Kings, in those that are assaulted under pretence thereof; therefore as concerning the testimony of *Tertullian*, touching the sufficiencie of strength the Christians in his time should have to resist the Emperour and all his power, I answer,

1. First, that the Father might easily be mistaken in taken the proposition, and making the estimate of the strength and power of Christians wherein the compasse of the Romane Empire, in comparison of the strength of those that were ready to oppose them. This was no point of faith, nor of Christian Religion; and therefore a devout Father might easily fall under a misprision herein. The common saying indeed is, that *unicuique in arte sua credendum, i.e.* every man is to be believed in his owne Art or Profession, but no rule of charity or reason binds us to beleeve another in any thing which belongs to the Art or Profession of another, and wherein himselfe is little versed or exercised. Now to weigh the strength of a Kingdome, State, or Empire, (as it were) in a ballance, and to make an estimate of, and compare together the power of severall parties or devisions of people in it with so much exactnesse, as to determine which is the stronger, and which the weaker, belongs to the profession and imployment of a Statesman, not of a Divine, or Minister of the Gospell, of one that sits at the sterne of the Empire, not of one whose heart, and time, and strength, are taken up with the study of the mysteries of heaven, yea for a Statesman himselfe to be able upon sufficient grounds, precisely to determine such differences as we speake of, I meane betweene the strengh and strength of different parties in a State, where, there is any neerenesse or appearance of an equality, will require both double dilligence and treble sufficiency in him otherwise.

2. How easily might he mistake and miscarry in a matter quite besides his profession and course, who not long after miscarried so grievously in his owne, as to turne *Montanist*, who called himselfe the Holy Ghost, and to approve of the dreames and furious fancies of those two vile women, *Maximilla* and *Prisca* (*Montanus* his wicked associates) for true prophesies. Yea staved not here neither, but joyned himselfe with those Heritiques called *Cataphryges*, who condemned second marriages as adulterous and prohibited by God; besides divers other misprisions in his owne profession, which would take up too much time to insist particularly upon: a memorable example and warning (as it were) from heaven, how unsafe and dangerous it is to build upon the authority of men.

3. It is well observed by one, that there is an aptnesse and promnesse of inclination in much devotion, in persons devoutly given, to over value the workes and piety of other men. Now this Father out of such a principle or inclination as this is, desirous to extoll and magnifie the patience of Christians, might easily draw in such a circumstance as this for such a purpose, upon very weake and slender grounds for it.

4. It is generally observed and knowne by the writings and records of these times, that even in the pious and Orthodoxe Fathers themselves, there were some touches and streines, some *fibra* of that root of bitternesse which afterwards grew ranke, and flourished above measure in the times of Popery, ye and brought forth fruit abundantly vnto death. I meane an inclination to credit and countenance their Religion in the sight of the Heathen and the world about them, by very slender reports and relations of things, as of Miracles, Visions, strange accidents, &c. which are generally reiected, as fabulous and false, by the sounder and more considerate knowledge of these latter dayes.

5. Suppose there might be considerable number of men of the Christian party in the Empire

pire (though to me it is one of the things I least beleeve) to withstand the Heathen party therein, yet doubtlesse these were kept under, as the Israelites were in *Egypt*, when they began to multiply. It is no wayes likely, that if they were any wayes formidable for their numbers, that they should be suffered to have any proportion of armes, of means, either of offence or defence, in case they were assaulted. It being contrary to all reason and rule of State, to suffer a party of an opposite Religion to the State, and worshipping another God then the State allowed, growing to any considerable numbers within them, to have farther any such proportion or quantity of weapons, armes, or meanes in any kind, whereby they might endanger and become formidable to the State. Now then granting that which this Father spake concerning the numbers of Christians amongst the Heathens, that they had number for number, man for man, and in this respect might seeme to ballance them, and be able enough to resist them, yet wanting armes and other meanes of defence, wherewith it cannot be conceived but that the adverse partie abounded, it had beene in vaine for them to have made resistance, when violence was offered unto them. And thus much for the first part of my Answer, to shew the questionablenesse, or rather indeede the great unlikelihood of the truth of that testimony, which is brought to support the objection propounded, which otherwise would fall to the ground of it selfe.

I go on to the second part of my Answer, which is to prove and to shew, that though the testimony be admitted for truth, yet the obiection will not reach the question, or case in hand.

Therefore suppose we the Father that spake as we have heard, *viz.* That the Christians under the Heathen Emperours, should be able enough to have defended themselves, yea to have opposed the Emperour himselfe with his party, spake nothing herein but the truth; yet it doth but follow, that all those of his profession, I meane all the Christians that were scattered up and downe the face of the Empire should have the same Apprehensions with him herein, should thinke themselves strong enough to resist the adversaries, in case they were opposed. Those particular persons that were called out here and there, some after others to suffer, might very probably, yea, could not lightly but conceive and thinke, that if they should have made any resistance against them that came to lay violent hands upon them, and to put them to death, they should have but enraged their malice against them the more, and so have increased their owne torments: yea, and happily have provoked the Heathen party, to rage so much the more against their Christian brethren, who yet remained amongst them. So that in those that were called to suffer, it had beene both want of wisedome, in respect of themselves, and of charity in respect of others, if they should have made the least resistance against those unjust and bloody officers, that were sent against them to take away their lives.

If it be here implied and said; yea, but the whole body and party of Christians throughout the Empire, having sufficient strength might have agreed to have risen up at once, and have suppressed their adversaries, if they had judged lawfull.

To this, answer hath in part beene made already: as first, that it is no wayes probable that they had any sufficiencie of strength, no not of men, to have made good such an attempt, much lesse that they had any competent provision of meanes otherwise, which had beene requisite thereunto.

Secondly, that though it should be granted, that they had a sufficiency of strength both wayes, yet is it no wayes necessary that therefore they should all be of the same minde and judgement touching this sufficiencie; that they should all be perswaded that their party were strong enough to deale with their adversaries. Wee know that many attempts, projects, and undertakings which hath beene in treaty and agitation, have bin deserted and laid aside, only through the different judgements and apprehensions of those that were concerned, and to have beene engaged therein, touching the experience or seasonablenesse of them. As that project of *Achitophel*, 2 Sam. 17. 14.

for the immediate and close following of *David*, and was deserted by *Absolom*, and his party, and not put in execution, because of the different advise which *Hushai* the Archit gave. A late instance hereof we had likewise amongst our selves: that dangerous designe of bringing up the army out of the North against the Parliament, proved abortive, the execution of it never seeing the light of the Sun through the different opinions of those that were, and were to have been in speciall manner concerned therein; some conceiving it to have been a project deserving the name of *none such*; others no waies daring to adventure themselves, their lives, and fortunes, nor some (perhaps) their consciences upon it. In like manner for the Christians living within the Romane Empire, to have made head and risen up against the maine body and State of the Empire to suppresse them, had beene an enterprise of that dangerous and grievous consequence, in case it had miscarried; especially the grounds of the successe of it being so uncertain and weake as they were, that it had not the least appearance or shew of likelihood, that ever it should be generally consented unto by the whole society of Christians, without which there was no attempting the putting of it into execution.

To this may be added.

3. That suppose the Christians we spake of had been generally confident of their strength and had made little question but that they might have carried it against the Emperor and his; yet having no invitation, countenance or comand from any Authority, rule, or lawfull power in the Empire to attempt any such thing, their case was farre differing from ours who are invited, countenanced, encouraged, and some wayes commanded by as great and as lawfull an Authority as this State hath any, to doe what you have been exhorted to doe in opposing the rage and violence of that malignant and bloud-thirsty generation, who having stollen away the heart of the King, make use of his name to make havock and spoile of your Lawes, liberties, Estates, Lives, Religion, yea of the Peace, Honour, and safety of the whole Kingdome. It is the expresse command and ordinance of God, that inferiour Magistrates, and rulers should be obeyed as well as Kings, as we observed formerly out of that of *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14. *Therfore submit your selves unto every, or all manner of ordinance of man, for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King as unto the Superiour, or unto governors as those that are sent of him, for the punishment of evill doers, &c.* So that inferiour Governors are by the expresse Commandement of God to be obeyed, as well as the Superior. Now then put the case that the inferiour Governour requires that which is only honest, agreeable to the Lawes of God and of Nature, as, *viz.* that we shall doe our best to defend our selves against those that contrary to all Law and conscience assault us; the superior, that which is contrary to both, *viz.* to sit still whilest our Lawes, Liberties, Estats, Lives, friends, godly Magistrates, and Religion it selfe, are indangered, and ready to be taken from us; the question in this case, whether we are to obey the inferior or superiour Authority; (the command of God indifferently extending it for obedience unto either in things that are lawfull) is easily resolved, except men will complaine and say it is darke at noone day. When it shall be substantially proved unto us, that an unlawfull command from a superiour Magistrate dissolves and makes void that commandement of God, wherby we stand bound to obey the inferior, in that which is lawfull; We may then have cause to make a demurre touching the goodnesse of the cause; but till then we may be bold to say, it is day, when the Sun shineth. This then is a difference very considerable, betweene the case of Primative Christians, and ours, in the point in hand, supposing they had power to defend themselves against the persecuting agents and instruments of the Emperour, yet had they not any countenance or command from any Authority in that State to doe it, which we have in ours.

4. Still supposing (that which yet is never to be granted, till it be better proved) that the

Primitive

Primitive Christians we spake of, had a sufficiency of power, to have defended themselves against the persecuting Emperours, and did it not, yet there may be this reason given, why they should rather patiently suffer, then make resistance, because whilest they were yet heathen and unconverted to the Christian Faith, they consented to that power or authority in the Emperour, whereby he made those bloody Edicts for the persecuting and murthering of poore Christians. Now it had been a very unreasonable thing and iustly offensive, both in the eyes of God and men, if the same persons who had established a power or authority in the hand of a Ruler should have resisted or opposed him, or his Agents and Ministers in the execution of it. A servant of God, *though he sweares* or bargains to *his own hurt*, yet must he *not change*, as you have it, *Psal.* 15.4. But we are under no such ingagements, or bands, and thetefore I have a liberty which they had not: For though a mans consent to an unlawfull power, be an absolute and simple consideration, a meere nullity, and such a power never the more lawfullized thereby; yet by all rules of reason and equity, such a consent ought to be a barre against him that hath given it, that he shall not for any carnall benefit or advantage, breake out against him that exerciseth this power by vertue of such consent, meerly for such exercise sake.

5. Be it granted that the Christian party in the Romane Empire was very great (as is pretended) yet could it in no sense be called or looked upon as the whole State or body of the Empire, as the Parliamentary Assembly is amongst us. This in a representative and legall consideration, is the whole body of the Nation, and of all the persons in it, having the same power and authority by Law, and in conscienee too, to doe every whit as much in every respect, as the whole Nation, and all the particular persons therein could have, if they were met together. Now that may be lawfull for an entire body or society of persons to doe, which may not be lawfull for a part, or some few of the society, save onely in conjunction with the whole. The Parliament (we know) being interpretatively, and in consideration of Law, the whole Body of the Kingdome, hath a lawfull power, both to doe and command many things, which a far grtatet part or number of men in the Kingdome have not; no all the Kingdome besides hath no such power, as they: and many things may be done very lawfully, and with a good conscience, by vertue of their appointment and command, which could not bee done upon any such termes without it, though a thousand times more men or persons then they are should command them.

6. Supposing they had such a power, as we have oft supposed (but never granted positively) and that it was lawfull for them to have made resistance accordingly, yet may God by way of speciall dispensation, and for very great and considerable ends of his, hide this liberty we speake of from their eyes; that they should not see it to make use of. We know there were many in the Apostles time, who *eat herbes*, when as yet it was as lawfull for them, in respect of any command of God to the contrary, to have eaten flesh; but yet they did better to content themselves with herbes, when God had not revealed and cleared up this liberty unto them. And yet they did as well as they too, who seeing their liberty in this kind by the cleere light of the Gospell, did take it and eate flesh. Consider that passage of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 6. *He that observeth a day, observeth it unto the Lord: and he that observeth not a day, observeth it not unto the Lord. He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord: for he giveth God thankes: and hee that eateh not, eateth not unto the Lord, and giveth God thankes.* Whereby it is evident that the forbearance of some actions by some men wherein they approve themselves unto God, doth not at all prejudice or gainsay the like acceptation of others in their doing them: yea, that some men may be bound in conscience to forbeare that, which another with a good conscience may doe. And this doubtlesse is (if the testimony of *Tertullian* mentioned be true) the case betweene those Primitive Christians, and Christians in these dayes. They might out of tender-

neſſe of conſcience, and out of an apprehenſion of ſome unlawfulneſſe in it, forbeare to vindicate themſelves againſt thoſe bloody butchers, that were ſet on work by the Emperours to deſtroy them: and yet Chriſtians in theſe dayes, ſeeing their libeerty in this kind, may as lawfully reſiſt thoſe that ſhall come againſt them in the like manner, as the other forbare it.

If it be here objected and ſaid that it is no wayes like that the Church of God ſhould generally be ignorant of ſuch a liberty as we ſpeake of and challenge, if there were any ſuch liberty indeed, is it credible that God ſhould hide ſuch a point of truth as this from them all?

I anſwer firſt, it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe that it ſhould be hid from them all without exception; it is ſufficient for our purpoſe if it were hid from their teachers, and thoſe that were leaders to the reſt, upon whoſe judgment (in things of this nature) the generality of people then much depended. But ſecondly, if there were many Miniſters of the Goſpell and teachers, even in the Apoſtles times themſelves, that were ignorant of that liberty which the Goſpell brought with it to the world, for the eating of fleſh, the non-obſervation of dayes, and of circumciſion, &c, or at leaſt were ſo far ignorant, that they were not able to informe and ſatisfie the generall ſort of Chriſtians therein, it may very well be conceived, that ſome hundreds of yeares after, when the light began to darken and waxe dim (in compariſon) they might now bee generally ignorant of ſuch a point of liberty as this wee now ſpeake of, at leaſt ſo far ignorant, as not to be able to ſatisfie the generality of their people therein. Eſpecially if we conſider,

Thirdly, that from the dayes of the Apoſtles, untill their numbers and ſtrength ware raiſed and increaſed to the ſuppoſed pitch of a ſufficiency to reſiſt (which was not leſſe then neere 200. yeares) there was no occaſion of ſtudying, or looking into the point: they had been in never the better caſe, whether they had had that liberty we ſpeak of or no; and therefore it is no marvaile if they neglected the ſearching after it. And when caſes of conſcience (as this was) lie unſtudied and uninquired into, neither is it any marvaile if the reſolution or ſtate of the truth in them, be not generally known.

Fourthly, that Spirit of courage, patience and conſtancy, which God poured out abundantly upon his Church and ſervants in thoſe times, wherby they were ſo ſtrengthned and incouraged to ſuffer, that martyrdome ſeemed a deſirable thing unto them, might be a ſpeciall reaſon and meanes to take them off from inquiring into, or ſo much as thinking what their lawfull liberty might be in the caſe we ſpeak of. Men that have a full eſtate in faire rents, as much as they can well ſpend, and as their heart deſireth, are not like, have no occaſion to buſie themſelves in ſtudying the caſe of uſury, as whether it be lawfull to take increaſe for the lone of money, or no; which he that hath his eſtate in mony, hath. Whilſt the *Iſraelites* were fed by God in an extraordinary way by Manna from Heaven, there was no neceſſity or occaſion for them to plough and ſow. So whilſt Chriſtians were furniſhed with an extraordinary ſtrength from Heaven, to offer themſelves up in martyrdom, their edge muſt needs be taken off hereby as from ſeeking means to eſcape it, ſo from ſtudying caſes and queſtions about the lawfulneſſe of eſcaping.

Fiftly, whileſt there lay a confeſſed neceſſity of ſuffering upon Chriſtians, *i. e.* till the ſuppoſed ſtrength of reſiſtance came to them (which as was noted before, could not be much leſſe then 200. yeares) Martyrdome was ſo extolled and magnified by the generall acclamations of the Miniſters, and continuall panegyricks, and orations made in praiſe thereof, that it is like no man would for a long time be endured, that ſhould teach any doctrine that might any wayes ſeeme to take men off from the deſire thereof. As there are many doctrines and points of Religion amongſt our ſelves that have been a long time taught with ſo high an hand, and generally received with ſo full an applauſe, that it is not ſafe for any man to appeare ſo much as in a

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seeming opposition to them, (though with never so much modesty and tendernesse.) But,

Sixtly (and lastly for this) whether God was pleased to make use of one, or both of their particulars last mentioned, or any other like unto them, as a meanes to hide that liberty of resistance we speake of from the eyes of the primitive Christians, or no; certaine it is, that the frame and tenour of his after dispensations, did require, that such a liberty should be hid from them, or at least that they should not make use of it; as on the contrary, the nature and purport of those dispensations which God hath now in hand, requires that this liberty should bee manifested and made knowne unto Christians. We know that according to the counsell and foreknowledge of God, Antichrist was then to come into the world: as now we know that he is about to be destroyed and cast out of the world. Now this is a generall rule, looke what truthes were necessary to be shut up and concealed from the Churches of Christ, that Antichrist might passe by, and get up into his throane; the discovery and letting out of the same into the world, are necessary for his pulling downe. For certaine it is, that Antichrist could never have gotten up into that throane, whereon he yet sits and shewes himselfe in his sacrilegious glory, had not God by speciall dispensation suffered him to make many truths his foot-stoole. If all truths had been clearly taught in the Church of Christ, and accordingly received and believed, it had been impossible that ever such a monster should have gotten into the Temple of God, that should *exalt himselfe above all that Which is called God.* But God causing a dead sleep (as it were) to fall upon those truthes, which should in speciall manner have opposed him, he had the opportunity without much contradiction or noyse to steale and convey himselfe into that *Cathedram pestilentiæ*, that Chaire of Papall State, which yet he possesseth. Now amongst many other truthes that were of necessity to be laid asleepe, for the passing of this beast unto his great power and authority, and for the maintaining and safeguarding of him in the possessing hereof, this is one of speciall consideration; that Christians may lawfully in a lawfull way, stand up to defend themselves, in case they be able, against any unlawfull assaults; by what assailants, or by what pretended Authority soever made upon them. For had this opinion been timeously enough, and substantially taught in the Church, it would certainly have caused an abortion in Antichrists birth, and so have disappointed the devill of his first borne. Had not the spirits, and judgements, and consciences of men been as it were cowed, and marvellously imbased and kept under, (and so prepared for Antichrists lure) by doctrines and tenents, excessively advancing the power of superiours, over inferiours, and binding Iron yokes and heavy burthens upon those that were in subjection, doubtlesse they would never have bowed downe their backes so low as to let such a beast goe over them, they would never resigned up their judgements and consciences into the hand of such a spirituall tyrant as hee. So that you see, there was a speciall necessity for the letting of Antichrist into the world, yea and for the continuance of him in his Throne, that no such opinion as this which we speake of, whether truth or untruth should be taught and believed; I meane, which vindicateth and maintaineth, the just rights, and liberties, and priviledges of those that are under authority, and subiection unto others.

Whereas, now on the contrary, that time of Gods preordination and purpose, for the downfall of Antichrist, drawing neere, there is a kinde of necessity, that those truths, which have slept for many yeares, should now be awakened: and particularly that God should reveale and discover unto his faithfull Ministers, and other his servants the just bounds and limits of authority, and power, and consequently the just and full extent of the lawfull liberties of those that live in subjection. Evident it is, that they are the Commonalty of Christians, I meane Christians of ordinary ranke and quality that shall bee most active, and have the principall hand in executing the judgements of God upon the Whore. Consider that place, *Rev.* 18.4,5,6.

18.4,5,6. *And I heard another voyce from heaven say, goe out of her my people, that ye be not partakers in her sinnes, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sinnes are come up to heaven, and God hath remembred her iniquities. Reward her even as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her workes, and in the cup that she hath filled to you, fill her the double.* Now that this service shall bee performed unto God by them (Christians I meane of under ranke and quality) contrary to the will, desires, or commands of those Kings and Princes under whom they live, it appeares by that which immediately followes, *vers.9. And the Kings of the Earth shall bewaile her and lament for her, which have commited fornication and lived in pleasure with her, when they shall see the smoake of her burning.* It is evident that the people of God spoken of before, were subjects to these Kings, that shall bewaile the whore in her ruine; for they are such as come out of *Babylon*; which could not be, except they had lived under those Kings that were Babyloniſh, and had given their Kingdomes to the whore, and by whom Babyloniſme had beene countenanced and set up. And that these (or at least the greatest part of them) should no wayes consent to the destruction of the whore by their subjects, it is evident by this; they should *Waile, and lament over her*, when she is destroyed. As for that which is found in the former Chapter concerning the 10. Kings (*Revel.*17.17. *Into whose heart God hath put it to give their kingdomes or power to the Beast*, where it is said, *that these should hate the whore and make her desolate, and naked, and eat her flesh, and burne her with fire*; I conceive this is not meant of the persons of Kings, but of their States and Kingdomes, *i.e.* of the generality of their people under them.

1. The expression, will fairely, and with full consonancy to the Scripture language elsewhere, carry this sense and interpretation; the bodies of States or Kingdomes indefinitely taken and considered, being usually signified by their heads, as Dukedomes by Dukes, Kingdomes by Kings, &c. as we have had occasion formerly to observe more at large when we produced severall instances from the Scriptures of this kinde of phrase. I shall (for the present) be your remembrancer onely of that one, *Dan.*7. 17. with ver.23. where ver.the 17. *the foure great Beasts* are said to be *foure Kings that shall arise out of the earth.* Yet vers.23. it is said that *the fourth Beast shall be the fourth Kingdome upon earth, which shall be diverse from all Kingdomes, i.e.* all the other three Kingdomes formerly expressed by three Kings. I could direct you to severall other Texts of Scripture where the same manner of speaking is found; but that I hasten. 2. If we take the word, Kings, properly, *i.e.* precisely for the persons that are the heads and chiefe rulers of Kingomes, in that Scripture, and will say, that these *shall hate the Whore and make her desolate, &c.* I apprehend no possibility (for the present) of reconciling this place with that other mentioned, *Rev.*18.9. Where it is said, that *the Kings of the Earth who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewaile her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoake of her burning.* Certainly they that shall *hate her*, and helpe to *make her desolate*, and to *burne her with fire*, will not bewaile her, nor lament over her, after such a manner as is farther expressed in that which followes in this Chapter. As for that Exposition, which by the Kings of the Earth that should bewaile and lament over the whore in her burning understandeth Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. who in their port and pompe are as Kings, it seemeth not probable; I rather conceive those to be the *Merchants of the Earth that should weepe and waile over her, because no man buyeth their wares any more, verse* 11. and who are said *to have waxen rich*, by that long trade and traffique they had had with the world, in those Babyloniſh commodities. Therefore they are the ten Kingdomes indefinitely considered. *i.* persons living within the ten Kingdoms, not the ten Kingdoms personally and properly taken, that shall hate the whore and make her desolate, and burne her flesh with fire. Now this promise and prediction of God concerning the destruction of the whore by Christians of inferiour ranke and quality, can hardly be conceived however it should be fulfilled or take place, except

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the judgements and consciences of men should be loosed and set at liberty from the bands and fetters of those enslaving Doctrines and apprehesions, wherewith they had been formerly oppressed and made servile above measure, to those that were in place & authority over them. This then we see a ground and reason fully satisfactory, both how, and why the Christians in the Primitive times, whilst Antichrist was in comming, might well be ignorant of that liberty, the knowledge whereof would have kept him from his Throne; and also why that liberty should now be revealed by God and taught unto his people; the ignorance whereof would still keep and continue him upon his Throne, when Gods will and Pleasure is that he shall be throwne down. And this for Answer to the Objection last propounded; and for the sixt particular, by way of Answer to the maine Objection. But,

7. (And lastly) whatsoever the credit or authority of *Tertullian* may be for the strength of Christians in primitive times, to make resistance against their enemies, and how justifiable, or commendable soever the patience and subjection of these Christians in suffering as they did, may be by some conceived to be, supposing they had such a power to have defended themselves, as is supposed; yet most certaine it is, that as well the authority of the one as the submission of the other, yea and both together, being both Apocriphall, are too light to weigh against the authority of the practise of that great Prophet *Elisha*, who made resistance against the Kings Messenger, that was sent against him to take away his head (as we instanced to you in the former part of this Discourse) as also against *David*, a man after Gods owne heart, who being but a private man, strengthened himselfe as well as he could, both with men and armes, yea, and with *Goliahs* sword to boot, to defend himselfe against the unjust and bloody persecution of *Saul*; both which example (besides others of like importance) are Canonicall. *Elisha* must not be censured as an evill-doer, nor *David* condemned for a Traitor, or Rebell, either because *Tertullian* saith, that there were Christians enough in the Roman Empire, to make their party good against the Emperor and his wicked Instruments, nor yet because those Christians did not stand up in their own defence, having sufficiently of strength to have done it. Thus we see there is nothing at all in the patience or submission of the Primitive Christians, so much urged and insisted upon, to discountenance that cause and service, wherein your best concurrence hath bin desired, of any consideration or concernment that way. To rise up in your own defence, in the defence of your lives, your estates, your liberties, your wives, your children, your friends, your lawes, your religion, against those, who without any lawfull authority or warrant either of God or men, are risen up with all their might, and all their power to make havock, and spoyle, and ruine of all, is no wayes offensive either in the sight of God, or reasonable men.

And, to conclude, if any man be afraid that Martyrdome should suffer by this, as either that the glory hereof should be eclypsed, or that all opportunities of expressing our selves unto God and Jesus Christ in such a service, should be cut off, and taken away by such an opinion. I answer, no: The glory and praise of Martyrdome will remaine as entire, with this Doctrine, as without it, and the opportunities of shewing our selves in our love and faithfulnesse unto Christ in such a service, will no wayes be diminished hereby.

For first, the glory and praise of Martyrdome or suffering for Christ, doth not consist in lying down, and suffering proud and wicked men to ride ovea our heads, in sitting still whilest our estates, liberties, wives, children, friends, are ruined and destroyed before faces, when Gods puts an opportunity into our hand to defend them; the name and Gospell of Jesus Christ would rather suffer losse by such a patience as this, then any wayes gaine; it were more Infidel-like, then Christian, not to make the best provision we can, for the safety of those that are so neare to us in such a case. But the grace and glory of Martyrdome lyeth in this; First, when a man is resolved to professe the name, and faith of Christ, what danger soever hee in-

curs, what losse soever he sustaines, or is like to sustaine by it. Secondly, When it comes to the necessity of suffering that he baulkes not, nor faulkers with Christ: that hee is not any wayes ashamed of him, or any of his words, or wayes. Thirdly, when a man disdeignes deliverance upon any base termes, or by unworthy meanes, that scornes to fly away for the enioyment of any rest, except it be with the wings of a Doye (the Scriptures Emblem of innocency) *which is covered with Silver wings* (as *David* speakes) *and her feathers like yellow gold.* It is ever honourable to fly with such wings as these.

Fourthly (and lastly) when God doth not open a doore of lawfull escape unto him, either by flight or otherwise, but hedgeth him up (as it were) with thornes, into the hand of the persecutor, that he patiently and with meeknesse, and composednesse of spirit, without any breakings out into one kinde or other, without any expression of discontent either against God or man, submitteth himselfe unto the stroke, in what kinde soever it falls upon him.

And secondly, for opportunities of Martyrdome, of suffering for Christ, and that in numbers more then we desire, they will not be wanting, though we shall not suffer every base Cavaliere, that saith he is for the King to cut our throats, or to plunder our Cities, Townes, or House, to commit outrages and insolencies upon Wives, Children, Friends, &c.

1. It is a suffering for Christ (and so a degree or kind of Martyrdome) to suffer those things which we doe in feares, in dangers, in distractions, in runnings, or removings up and downe, in disappointments of our affaires, in the losse, expence, or forbearance of our estates, by those men of *Belial*, that are as Thornes in our eyes, and scourges in our sides, only or chiefly because we will be that in open and constant profession, which by the grace of God we are inwardly and in the truth of our soules; because we will not prostitute our consciences to the lusts of their Father the devill, we will not give the right hand of fellowship to them, in those desperate courses of wickednesse and prophaneneſse wherein they are engaged, and wherein (it seemes) they mean to weary, yea and weare themselves out before they will give over.

2. We lie open to the hatred and malice, to the mockings and scoffings, to the rayling & revilings, to the slanders and lyings of the whole malignant party round about us, & that becaufe we hold forth the Lord Jesus Christ in his holinesse and purity, in his power and authority over the world, in his truth, and faithfulneſse, in his mercy, and goodneſse, in his glory, and Maiesty, in our lives, and conversations. And this is a Martyrdome too, or suffering for Christ.

3. (And lastly) we know not how soon or suddenly we may be called out by God, to suffer even a perfect and compleat Martyrdom indeed, to lay down our lives for Christ; when God will hedge up every way of escape against us with thornes, and leave us in *Peters* streights, *To stretch forth our hands, and have another to gird us, and to lead us whether we would not. Iohn* 21. 18. So that we shall leave occasions, and opportunities enough, even as many as God himselfe ever made, for the expressing of our love and faithfulneſse unto Christ and his Gospell in wayes of suffring, though we stand up like men and quit our selves with all our might, and all our strength against those assacinates, and sworn sword-men of the Divell, who have conspired the death and ruine of all that feareth God in the Land.

Onely for a close of all that I have to say in this point, let me adde one thing by the way of caution, that opportunities of suffering Martyrdome will not alwayes continue in the Church for the servants of God: yea, the time draweth neare, when they shall cease and be no more. The said retinue of *the first things*, (as they are called *Rev.* 20. 4.) which hath beene a long time in passing by, even for many Generations, is now almost quite passed; God is now bringing up the reere of this host of sorrowes, and when this is passed, he will turne the wheele of his providence and dispensations, betweene his owne Church, and the Synagogue of Satan. That side which hath been downe hitherto, shall be upward, and that which hath beene above,

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shall be below: Now the devils saints, and the Children of the Whore, even all *fearfull and unbelieving ones, and abominable, and murtherers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and all lyars*, they shall be called to their Martyrdome, and the Saints of the most high shall give them double of their owne cup. * *They that led into cartivity* hitherto, *shall* now *goe into captivity* themselves: *and they that killed with the sword* hitherto, *shall* now *be killed with the sword* themselves. And who they are that shall now lead into captivity, and slay with the sword, you may informe your selves, *Revel.* 18. 6, 7. *Reward her, even as she hath rewarded you*: you, *viz.* in your Brethren, that have walked in the steps of the same faith and holinesse with you: *And give her double, &c. This is the honour which the Saints shall have, to execute the judgement that is written, upon the Whore.* * Rev. 13. 10.

Another motive to strengthen your hand the same way, may be to consider, that as the cause recommended to you is every wayes iustifiable, so is it a matter of the highest and deepest concernment unto you to stand by it, and advance it to the utmost you are able, yea (if it were possible) above and beyond what you are able to doe. All your interests, relations, and concernments in this world are bound up in it: yea, it narrowly concernes you in relation to the world which is to come, your everlasting estate and condition is not lightly concerned in it. First, what have you in this world amongst all that which you call yours, any wayes deare or precious unto you, but that the line of this cause, whatsoever it proves, is like to be stretched upon it: the cause which is now depending and pleading between you and your adversaries, will certainly be either the rising or falling of it.

1. For your Estates, these are already designed, by your enemies, for a reward and recompence of their labour and travell in procuring your ruin. Your Silver, & Gold, your Houses, and lands, with all your precious and pleasantest things besides, must call you Masters no more, if you fall into the hands of these devourers. If they prevaile, they will be like a *sweeping raine* (as *Solomon* speaks) *that will leave no food.* You must look for no other *mercies* from them, but those that *are cruell*; you heare daily from divers parts of the land, of what spirit they are in this kinde: what spoyle and rapine they make of the precious substance of your Brethren, where they are, or have opportunity to fall; notwithstanding they are not yet in a posture to their minds, to follow this occupation of ruine and spoile, as they desire and hope to doe. They have a bridle of some feare in the iawes of their fury, they cannot stay by their worke, they cannot gather in their harvest so cleane as they desire. But if they doe these things being but yet in the valley, what will they doe, if they should make good the mountaine? if they commit such insolencies as these in the day of their feares, what will they doe in the day of their power, if ever this Sun should arise upon them? I beseech you consider this, you that have lived at ease; and in all fulnesse hitherto, and have wanted nothing of all that your hearts could desire, to make your lives comtable unto you; that have had food, and rayment, and lodging, and harbour, upon such termes, that your flesh it selfe, though apt enough to murmure and complaine, hath yet been ashamed to complaine of any want or scarcity in any kind; till me how, or what will you doe in such a day, wherein your faire necks, that never had yoke upon them to this day, shall be wrung and galled, and torne with those Iron yokes, of poverty, nakednesse, hunger, cold, contempt, want of all things? Will not the dayes and yeares of your fomer plenty and fulnesse be seene upon you in abundance of sorrow and extremity? and it is not in vain for you to think that this cup shall passe by you, that you drink not of it, if ever it be in the power of those enemies of yours we speak of, to make you to drink? Doubtlesse they must want of their will if you do not drink, yea, and suck out the very dregs of it. Whereas on the contrary, if you shall onely this one time make good your standings against them, and breake this enterprise, as far as humane reason is able to judge, and according to the ordinary course of Gods administration

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of things in the world, they are never like to rise up against you, nor to endanger the peace of your outward enjoyments the second time. If you will now be perswaded to give out your selves like men, to advance the cause in hand, that which you doe is like to be a bulworke, and an impregnable defence for the time to come, to your possessions and estates, against all violence and oppression of men in this kind.

2. For your liberties, this is another precious possession of yours in the world. I speak here onely of your civill or politicke liberty, which is of equall accommodation and desirablenesse (if not of superiour) with your estates: and this likewise will certainely be oppressed and seized upon, and turned into a miserable slavery and bondage, if that bloody generation shall carry the day against you, and make themselves Lords over you. That of *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 2. 19. is like to come upon you in this case: *of whomsoever a man is overcome, of the same he is brought into bondage.* It may be you are not generally so apprehensive and sensible of the preciousnesse and sweetnesse of your liberties, as of your estates; you doe not place so much of your outward comfort and contentment in the one, as in the other. The reason whereof I conceive to be partly because we are generally borne free, and therefore take no care or paines to come by it, whereas many are borne poore, and to inherit little but what they can get by the sweet of their browes: partly because liberty is as plentifull amongst us as silver was in *Solomons* dayes; which was therefore little esteemed because it was *as plentifull as the stones in the street, and as the Wilde Figtrees that grew abundantly in the plaine*; there is none amongst us but is as free as another; but there is great difference in respect of estate; partly also, because we see few in any suffering or hard condition, we heare few cries or complaints for want of liberty, whereas we both heare and see daily what hardship and things grievous to flesh and blood, are endured by many, both men, women, and children, for want of meanes, and an outward estate. Haply for these and other reasons that might be given, our liberties are not so high prized with us as matter of estate is; but if we did judge righteous judgement (as our Saviour speakes) or if wee had but the sensible advantages and quicknings to raise our thoughts and apprehensions concerning our liberties, which we have in reference to our estates, and which many others in the world have, in reference to liberty it selfe; wee would thinke our liberties every whit as worthy to be placed at our right hands, as our estates. I must not stand to discourse the benefit and sweetnesse of this blessing of liberty; concerning which, many great and excellent things might be spoken. I shall onely say this, that if we lived but a while in those States, where the poore subject is yoked with an iron yoke of bondage, and bowes downe the backe, and groanes under the heavy pressure of usurpation and tyranny, as under the great Turke, or in the State of *Persia*: yea or in *France* it selfe (which is neere at hand) and did but observe the miserable and hard termes and conditions, that by reason of such slavery and bondage they live under, then a dramme of that liberty which yet we injoy, would be as precious to us as a droppe of cold water would have beene to the rich man in hell, when hee was so grievously tormented in those flames. Now then this is that which I hold forth unto you in this motive to be considered of, that if ever you shall suffer the hand of the Malignant party, which is now up in rage, and great fury against you to finde their enterprise, if the day falls to be theirs, you must looke to be dealt withall in your liberties, as in your estates; there will no partiality be shewne by these men betweene them, they that will not spare you in your estates, neither will they favour you in your liberties, they have bands, and chaines, and fetters already prepared for your hands and feete, and Irons that will enter into your soules. You must know that they are animated and acted against you, with the spirit of that fourth beast in *Daniel, which was unlike unto all the others, very fearefull, whose teeth was of Iron, and his nailes of Brasse, which devoured, brake in peices, and stampt the rest under his feete.*

They are of a Lordly, insolent, domineering, and tyrannizing spirit, sporting themselves in their cruelties, delighting to ride over the heads of men, that they can get under them. Therefore now consider, I beseech you, how intolerable and grievous a thing it is like to be unto you to beare the yoke of that cruell bondage and slavery which these men have prepared for your necks; to live by the lawes of their lusts and pleasures, to be at their arbitriments and wils in all things, to do and to suffer, to have and to possesse as they shall appoint and think meet for you; how intollerable a condition, I say, this is like to prove unto you, who have been free men and women all your dayes, and have had the disposall of your selves and of all your wayes, and of the good things that the providence of God hath cast in unto your labours or otherwise. Oh you will find the change very sharpe and terrible, beyond what I am able to expresse, or your selves for the present, able to apprehend. Whereas on the contrary, if you shall hold out this one Impression and onset which they are now making upon you, and make good the ground you stand on against them; you shall breake their cords in sunder, and cast their bands from you for ever; you shall make such an intailement of this precious inheritance wee speake of, your liberty, to your children and childrens children, that they shall never be able to cut off. If they be not now broken, they are not like ever to make themselves whole againe, if you will be perswaded to be men of wisdome once, you may be men of comfort and Peace ever after.

3, For your wives and children, these (I make account) are another part of your precious injoyments in this world: But as for these, neither are they like to finde any better quarter in their kind from these bags of blood and basenesse, then your liberties and estates in their kind. Nay, as these are capable of the impressions of more of those vile affections which rage in these men, so are they like to suffer upon termes yet more grievous, even according to the utmost of their capacities in this kind: The rage of their lusts (I mean of many of them) is as barbabrous and cruell, as the rage of their cruelty it self. And what measure you are to expect both in one and in the other, in lust and cruelty towards these, your wives (I mean) and children; themselves have proclaimed in your eares aloud in those patterns and examples of this kind, which in severall places of the Land, they have set for themselves to follow in their future course. I presume you have heard of divers insolencies and outrages of abomination committed by them with an high hand, such as have made both our eares to tingle in the hearing. Therefore consider and weigh it well with your selves: put your hearts upon deep and sad, and serious apprehensions of it, how grievous and heart-breaking and soul-cutting a sight it would be unto you to see the honour and chastity of your wives and daughters plundered by the barbarous lusts of those brutish men, who are ready to poure out their abominable filthinesse and uncleannesse where-ever they become, and when they have done execution upon their honours, with the lust of uncleannesse in the Front, to bring up the lusts of cruelty in the Reare to doe the like execution upon their lives and blood. Assure your selves, that the Devill hath the driving of them, and he will make them runne and keepe his pace, as farre as ever the strength of any vilenesse and wickednesse in them will hold out. And so for your little ones that are not for their lusts: it is much to be feared that in that respect, they will double their cruelties upon them, as you have heard (I presume) that their brethren in *Ireland*, baptized into the same spirit of blood and abomination with them, have done. Oh, how can you beare the thoughts of such a day likely to come upon you, wherein your young children shall be taken by the hand of an inhumane monster, and dashed in peeces against the stones, or torne one limbe from another, or tossed upon the point of the Pike or Speare? Assure your selves that the day of all these astonishing things, and perhaps of things more intollerable and astonishing then these, is like to come upon you, except you will be perswaded to redeeme it, and buy it off, at the rate

of your utmoſt endeavours, and of all you are able to doe to prevent it, if God would vouchſafe the grace and mercy to you, to let you have it at any rate.

4. That honorable Senate of both Houſes of Parliament, conſiſting of moſt of the worthies of the Land, (I meane for men of their ranke and quality) to whoſe unwearied labours and diligence, and faithfulneſſe, and zeale, and expence, under God, you and your whole Nation owe your lives and liberties, both ſpirituall and temporall, yea eſtates and all your ſweet enjoyments hitherto; and in whoſe peace and preſervation all you yet injoy, as far as reaſon is able to diſcerne and judge, is bound up; (ſo that I may well reckon theſe amongſt your temporall enjoyments) theſe are like to periſh and to be cut off by the right hand of iniquity, if that generation of men whoſe bloody cruelties you both have beene heretofore, and are now againe exhorted with all your might to oppoſe ſhall ever get the upper hand. Wee know it is this Aſſembly, that have ſtood by you, and ſtucke cloſe to your liberties, and the truth and purity of that Religion you profeſſe; that are the bulwarke and defence againſt the furious impreſſions of thoſe wicked ones upon you, and all that is yours: And they know as much too, and looke upon them accordingly: they are they that have robbed theſe Beares of their whelpes, that have ſhaken the foundation of Popery, Prelacy, and prophaneſſe in the Land, and that are at worke upon it night and day, to make it a Land of righteouſneſſe, which is an element that theſe kinde of Creatures know not how to live in. And in this regard, theſe are the men of their rage and hatred above others; theſe are the mountaines that ſtand in their way; and what will they not doe, what will they not ſuffer to remove them, or caſt them downe, and make them into a plaine? doubtleſſe they are ſicke, and long for their blood, as much as ever *David* longed for the waters of the well of *Bethleem*. And if they ſhall ever be but able to diſſolve the power and proceedings of this Parliament now ſitting, the way will be open and ready for them, either to ſtave off all Parliaments for the future, or (which is of more dangerous conſequence of the two) to make them themſelves: and ſo the Sun of the glory and peace of this Nation is like to ſet upon it for ever. Therefore now conſider (I beſeech you) of how lamentable and unſupportable a conſequence it would be, if this *Spring* ſhould be *troubled* (as *Solomons* compariſon is) if theſe righteous ſhall fall before theſe wicked ones; and Cavaliers Swords, drinke Senators blood: And how would it be a blot upon you, and make your memory an infamy and reproach throughout all generations, if it ſhould be ſaid, that you ſate ſtill and did nothing, but keepe up your money, while theſe men periſhed at your ſide, who had beene a guard and ſafety to you, and to all that you had: yea, that laboured and travelled with the honour and ſafety of the whole Land, and were ready to cry out, and to have beene delivered, but that in the breaking forth of the children, your covetouſneſſe, and your unfaithfulneſſe, and your remiſſeneſſe betrayed them into the hands of their enemies, who cruelly deſtroyed both parents and children at once. Not to *feede your enemie when he hungers, or when he is thirſty*, not to *give him drinke*, is by the Holy Ghoſt himſelfe interpreted, , to be a revenging your ſelves on him; and withall to be a matter of high diſpleaſure and offence unto God. I beſeech you, if not to ſave the life of an enemy when it is in danger, nay, if not to ſupply ſuch neceſſities of his, which yet perhaps doe not touch his life, be a ſin of that provocation in the ſight of God; What ſin will that be, or by what name ſhall it be called, or what ſhall the meaſure of the provocation of it in the eyes of God be, when men ſhall ſuffer the greateſt and faithfulleſt friends they have, that for a long time together have laboured for them in the very fire night and day, in the very midſt of their ſore conflicts, and ſtrivings with men, and that chiefely for their ſakes, to periſh by the hand of their enemies, when it was in their hand and power to relieve them? Surely men muſt create a new Name, and God will create a new puniſhment or hell for ſuch a ſinne.

5. (And laſtly, for matter of this worlds contentment) what doe you thinke of your lives themſelves;

themselves; if those men of blood shall carry the day, and ever come to set up their banners amongst you? Will they not be sold as cheape as Sparrows were among the Jewes, five for two farthings? Nay, will they not be troden downe and trampled upon like clay and mire in the streets, by the foote of the pride, and rage, and insolency of these men? Would not your flesh be as a feast of fat things unto them, and your blood as new Wine? Or if they did spare your lives, would it not be only out of a desire and intent to adde unto your miseries, to gain opportunity of inflicting many deaths upon you? Perhaps they have learned a deliberate crueltie, from that bloody Emperour *Nero*: who when any person that was accused, and under the stroke and dint of his power, desired of him that hee might be dispatched and put to death, was wont to make answer, *Non ita tecum in gratiam redii*: *i.* Hee was not yet so farre friends with him, as to give him leave to die: he meant to have more satisfaction out of them, then so. So if these men give you your lives for a time, you must not looke to have them given you upon such termes, as God sometimes in common destructions gives his servants their lives: *viz. For a prey*, or *booty*: No, they will be given you only as means or Engines wherewith to torment you. It may be they will desire to reserve and keep you alive, to make spectators of you, of all that bloody Tragedy they mean to act upon all that belongs to you, in setting your Houses, and Cities on fire, in taking away your goods, in offering villany to your wives, and your daughters, and then mangling and massacring them when they had done. And then when they have throughly scourged you with such Scorpions as these, it is like they will deliver you into the hands of death. Certaine it is, that the spirit that works in these cursed children of disobedience which are now your adversaries, lust not onely to your temporall ruine and destruction, but to your everlasting ruine and destruction also, as far as it knowes how to be active in it. Our Saviour himselfe seemes to imply as much, *Mat.* 10.28. where he commands us *not to feare those that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule*: as farre as they are able to goe in hatred and malice against the Saints, they doe go, *they do kill the body* (saith our Saviour) He doth not say, feare not those that can kill the body, but, which *doe*, actually, frequently, and from time to time, *kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule*; doubtlesse intimating, that if they were able, they would kill body and soule, and all. And somewhat more plainely (I conceive) *Joh.* 10. *And I give unto them eternall life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck (or pull) them out of mine hand*; clearely implying, that the devill and his instruments, wicked men, are ready to pull and tug hard to get even his elect themselves out of his hands, out of that hand of election and grace, which he hath laid upon them, and whereby he holds them fast. Thus the story of the Martyrs report, that when the Popish Prelates, and Priests were ready to have execution done upon that faithfull servant of God *John Husse*, they used these words, *Now we commit thy soule to the devill*: And when *Hierom* of *Prague*, through long and grievous imprisonment grew very sick, and (as himselfe thought) neere unto death, desired that he might have a confessor (being it seemes, conscientious this way) the story saith that very hardly, and with great importunity it could be obtained: which shewes, that it was griefe and torment to his enemies, that hee should have any thing, that in their opinion might be a meanes to save his soule, after he was dead; besides many other like streines of the same spirit, which that story presents unto the diligent Reader. Now then, there being a spirit of this profound, deep, and devillish enmity against you, working in the bowels and inward parts of these men, to desire not only your temporall, but eternall death also, it is none other like, but if they suspect and doubt of the strength of their arme, for the sending of you by death into Hell (as I make little question but they doe, they have no great hope of hunting your soules into the bottomlesse pit, which is reserved for their owne) they will themselves create a hell for you, as full of torment and cruell burnings as they can make it,

and

and cast you into it themselves before you die, and so be gotten out of their reach. So that there is nothing to be looked for from these men but death, or that which is worse then death, a life to contribute towards the increase of the paines and sorrows of your death: and so indeed death howsoever. Therefore I beseech you consider the weight of this branch of the present motive also. Will you thinke of keeping or saving you estates, to the losse or imminent danger of your lives? Shall you not keep your money to make a goodly purchase, if you bring all these great evils and miseries upon you thereby? Though in many other cases you might make much gain and advantage by making the devill a lyar, yet it will be your wisdome to justifie him in that his saying; *Skin for skin* (or rather skin after skin, or, skin upon skin) *and all that a man hath will he give for his life*, If you have so much of men in you (as Sathan your enemy supposeth (it seemes) that you have) to value your lives at any such rate above all your possessions whatsoever, shew it this day, and make a fortification and bulwarke of all that you have for their defence and safety; *Solomon* (we know) made some hundreds of Targets, and Shields of Gold, it should not be grievous to any man to sacrifice his estate, his Gold and Silver upon the service of his life. There is a time to keep (saith *Solomon*) and a time to spend, or to cast away, *Eccles.*3.6. Certainly of all other, that is no time to keep, when a mans life lies at the stake, & is in all likelihood not to be redeemed but by casting away. Thus much for your temporall and outward enioyments, they are all involved and concerned to the uttermost, in the present occasion and service, which you have been exhorted to promote and further with all your strength, and all your power.

But secondly, it were well (at least it were lesse to be laid to heart, it were a matter of far lighter moment and importance) if your outward concernments onely, though it were even to life it selfe, were imported in that great occasion, which is now on foot, and hath been again and again recommended unto you; but behold greater things then these. Your spirituall concernments also, are like to suffer, and that in very high degree, if *Gog* and *Magog* prevaile, if ever you come to be at the allowance of Cavaliers, Papists, and Atheists, that have taken the field against you, for the things of Heaven. You are like to have stones instead of bread, and Scorpions instead of Fish. Those golden Pipes, by which Heaven and Earth are (as it were) ioyned together, and have lively communion each with other; I mean your pure ordinances of worship, which have both the wisdome, and grace and goodnesse of God abundantly in their frame, will be cut off, and others of Lead laid in their stead; ordinances I mean of an humane constitution and frame, whose chiefe substance, or ingredients will be the wisdome and will, *i.e.* the folly and corrupt affections of men, by which, not Heaven, but Hell, and the World will be ioyned together, and the trade and traffique between both places, much quickned and advanced, ordinances which will be ready to be cast as dung into your faces by God, when you have been exercised in them. You must never look to see the goings of God in the Sanctuary, as you have done, to see any more visions of life and immortality let down from Heaven unto you, in these houses of vision: those excellent ravishments and raptures of spirit, those taking up into the third Heaven by seeing him that was greater then *Solomon* in all his glory, will cease from you. Those pure streames of the Gospell will be all bemired and spoyled, when they are given unto you to drinke: Yea happily and poysoned too, by the influence of the corrupt mindes and judgements of those that shall give them unto you. You must looke to have the Gospell turned upside downe, and to be made to stand in perfect conjunction with Hell, which loosenesse, wickednesse, and prophanenesse, and in opposition to Heaven, Grace and Holinesse; to be made a Savour of death to those that shall be saved; and a Savour of life to those that shall perish. It will be made to frowne upon those that are godly, and to look cheerfully and comfortably upon loose men. So that if your soule shall lust for these Summer fruits,

if

if you shal desire to have communion with God, in communion and fellowship with his Saints, If you shall desire at any time to be rained upon by a showre of life and peace from Heaven, you must repaire again to the woods and mountaines, or to the covert of some close and secret place, where you must eat the bread of your souls in peril of your lives; as your forefathers did in Queene *Maries* dayes, on with danger of suffering whatever the malice and revengefull spirit of your enemies shall thinke good, or can devise to inflict upon you.

Therefore now consider, you that have had the liberty of your Sanctuaries, and of your publique assemblies, that have been *fed with honey out of the Rocke, and with the finest Wheat* of Heaven, you that have had an open and free trade to Heaven, and have had glorious returnes from them day after day, to whom the Ministery of the Gospel, hath been as the wings of the morning, as Chariots of fire to carry you up and down as it were in spirituall state and triumph between heaven and earth; Oh how will that day be as the shadow of death unto you, wherein you must exchange your Quailes and Manna from Heaven, for the Garlike and Onyons of *Egypt*, when you shall heare the Pope and his Hierarchie preached up to the Heavens, and Jesus Christ with his Saints preached down to the Earth, and made to sit at their foote-stoole, when your souls and consciences shall be compassed about with lies and errours, and the Commandements of men, in the Ministery of the word; instead of those spirituall and glorious truths, which were wont to be as so many Angels sent from the presence of God to comfort you; doubtlesse if ever you *saw the Heavens opened* over your heads by an effectuall and sound Ministery, and *Jesus Christ standing at the right hand of God in glory*, as *Stephen* did, if ever you smell the savour of life by Jesus Christ preached; the day wherein such a Ministery shall be taken from you, will be like the day wherein the Sun shall be covered with Sackcloth, and the Moone turned into blood, and the Stars in the Firmament of Heaven lose their light. The change will be every whit as sad unto you, as that was unto *David* when he was driven from the Sanctuary and presence of God, and *compelled to dwell in Mesech, and make his habitation in the Tents of Kedar*. If this exchange made him cry out, *Woe is me*: you must thinke it will be a double woe unto you, when the *Ark of God* shall be taken from you, and *Dagon* set up in its stead, when the dispensations and administrations of Heaven, which were spirit and life, the light of Gods countenance it selfe unto you, shall be exchanged for the Statutes and Ordinances of *Rome*, which are like *tombes* and *sepulchres*, having nothing in them but rottennesse and dead mens bones. If such a day were now upon you, what would you give to buy it off? and is not the purchase of the prevention of it worth as much?

It may be there are some amongst you whose soules and consciences were never yet engaged, either by the puritie or power of any of the Ordinances of God: who never yet knew what it was to be kindly touched from Heaven by any spirituall administration, to such as these it is like *Dagon* may be as good as the Arke; the devises and inventions of men, as beautifull, as savory, in the house & worship of God, as those Ordinances themselves which have the perfect image and superscription of God upon them; a ministrie that is low and cold, and set in consort with the earth, and the things thereof; as that which is calculated for the Meridian of heaven, and breathes life and immortality in the faces of mens soules continuallie. If such as these lend but a dul or deaf eare to the motion, cannot find so much as two mites in their estates to cast in the treasury of God, it is much to be marvelled at. But for you that know how little the chaffe is to the wheat; I beseech you to have this sense of the businesse recommended to you, that when you have done the utmost of what you are able to doe for the advancement of it, you would yet unfainedlie desire to doe more.

Thirdly, to engage you yet further to give out your selves fullie and freelie as you have been exhorted, you may please to consider, that as all your precious interests, whether in the

things of this life, or of that which is to come, are deeply concerned in it, ſo are all the like intereſts of all your brethren, the godly perſons in the land concerned likewiſe. And if the cauſe ſhould ſuffer or miſcarry, it would be as a ſword that would paſſe through all the righteous ſoules throughout the land; it would bring ſuch a day of ſorrow, lamentation, and woe upon the generation of the ſervants of God throughout the Kingdome, as ſcarce hath been heard of in all ages: it will cauſe all their hands to hang downe, and their knees to waxe feeble, and their hearts to wither as the graſſe; it will fill all their eyes with teares, & their hearts with heavineſſe, there will be no end of thoſe great evils and miſeries which will come upon them in that day. The breach that will be made upon them will be like the great breaches of the Sea which cannot be repaired. It was a night of much ſadneſſe to the land of Egypt, when God ſlew in every houſe one throughout the whole land: the Text ſaith, *There was a grievous cry throughout the whole land of Egypt upon it*: But this cup was given to the Egyptians to drinke: And yet this ſtroke fell not ſo ſore upon them neither, as the miſcarriage of that great action we ſpeak of, would do upon the Iſrael of God amongſt us. That did but touch the Egyptians in the lives of one in every Family reſpectively: but the ſtroke which is now lifted up, and likely to be given in the land, wherever it light, ſhould it fall upon the right hand, upon the people of God, it would wound them all and that very ſore, yea and that not in ſome, but in all their concernments, and enjoynments whatſoever, as well in thoſe which relate to this world preſent, as in thoſe whoſe accommodations are more peculiarly for that world which is yet to come (as hath been ſhewed already) if ever that mountain of of prophanneſſe, which now you are exhorted to put your ſhoulders to remove ſhall be eſtabliſhed, doubtleſſe it will magnifie it ſelfe againſt all that is called holy in the Land; it will lie heavy, and oppreſſe, if not overwhelme and bury under it, all that have the marke of the living God upon them. Therefore I beſeech you conſider what you doe, If this great evill ſhall come upon the Church and people of God amongſt you, and you be found dull and heavie, negligent and remiſſe in the preventing of it, and not improve your ſelves to the utmoſt that way, when as it hath been ſo fully and feelingly, and frequently both repreſented and recommended unto you, ſhall you not bring the guilt of it all upon your heads? Shall you not be looked upon both by God and men, as acceſſaries (if not principals) in all thoſe ſore afflictions and calamities, which in this caſe ſhall fall upon them? will not God require their ſorrows, and their tears, and their troubles, and their afflictions, and all the extremity they ſhall endure at your hands? *When I ſhall ſay unto the wicked* (ſaith the Lord to his Prophet *Ezekiel*) *Oh Wicked man thou ſhalt die the death, if thou doſt not ſpeake and admoniſh the wicked of his way, that wicked man ſhall die for his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand. Ezek.* 33. If God will require the blood of a wicked man at the hand of his Prophet in caſe he did not ſeeke to prevent it by admoniſhing him: will he not much more require the ſorrowes, ſighings, troubles, teares, extremities, blood of a whole nation of Saints, at the hands of thoſe, by whoſe unfaithfulnes, coldneſſe, covetouſneſſe, negligence in any kind, they
Matth. 26. 24. ſhall come upon them, *The ſon of man* (ſaith our Saviour) *goeth his Way as it is Written of him; but Woe be to that man by whom the ſon of man is betrayed: it had been good for that man if that hee had never been borne*; In like manner the Church and people of God amongſt us may yet ſuffer grievous things, but woe be to thoſe, whomſoever they be, be they fewer, be they more, be they rich, be they poore, by whom their peace and ſafety ſhall be betrayed.

Fourthly, and laſtly, all our own concernments, and the concernments of all our deare Brethren in the faith throughout the land, are bound up in the buſineſſe, which hath been ſo frequently and affectionately recommended unto you; ſo are the like concernments of other of our brethren alſo, partakers of like precious faith with you, in other Lands and Kingdomes bound up likewiſe herein; though not all (perhaps) in the ſame degree. There is a com-

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mon report of a ſtrange Sympathy between *Hypocrate's* twins, that they alwayes cryed together, and laughed together. And doubtleſſe there is ſome ſuch ſympathy betweene all the Reformed Churches (as we call them) in theſe parts of the world: amongſt which likewiſe I comprehend thoſe Plantations of our Brethren of this Land, in *America*, and other Weſterne parts, at leſt betweene all that are truelie faithfull and ſound in that profeſſion which they make in theſe Churches. I doe not ſpeake here of that inward or ſpirituall ſympathie, which in reſpect of reciprocall affections and mutuall tenderneſſe intercedes betweene all the true and living members of the myſticall body of Chriſt, though never ſo remote aſunder, but of that mutuall dependencie which the outward affaires and condition of everie one hath, upon the condition of the other, ſo that proſperity and well eſtabliſhed peace of any one, hath an influence into, and contributes more or leſſe towards the like eſtabliſhment of the other: As on the contrary, the ſhaking, trouble, ruine, or deſtruction of any one weakens the ſtrength, and impaires more or leſſe the ſecurity of all the other: So that they muſt needs all weep together, and all laugh together. Now then, this is that which I ſay, and hold forth to your Chriſtian and godly conſiderations in this motive; that the action wherein the Church and people of God in the Land are now ingaged, and which is yet depending between them and their adverſaries will in the iſſue, cloſe, and fall of it, be of very remarkable concernment to all the Saints of God in all thoſe other Churches mentioned; if it falls on the right hand, it will be the riches, ſtrength, and increaſe of them; if on the left, it will be the diminiſhing, ſhaking, and impairing of them, therefore conſider I beſeech you the great weight and importance of the opportunity that is before you, if through your zeale and forwardneſſe, and faithfulneſſe to advance it, and the bleſſing of God upon it, your preſent ſervice ſhall proſper, your light will be like the *lightning which* (as our Saviour ſaith) *ſhineth from the Eaſt even unto the Weſt*, the heat and warmth, and living influence thereof, ſhall pierce through many Kingdomes great and large, as *France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungaria, Polonia, Denmarke, Sweden*, with many others, and finde out all the children of God, and all that are friends to the Kingdome of Heaven, and will be a cheering and refreſhing to them: Eſpecially to your brethren in their ſeverall plantations in far countries; and moſt of all to thoſe in theſe united and neere Kingdomes, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, it will be as a feaſt of fat things, and of Wines well refined: and particularly to poore bleeding, dying *Ireland*, it will be as a reſurrection from death unto life. Now then in as much as God hath ſet you this day, as the Sun in the Firmament of Heaven, from whence he hath an opportunity and advantage to ſend forth his beames, and to furniſh and fill the world with his light and influence round about him; ſince you have the commodiouſnes of ſuch a ſtanding, that you may do good to all that is Gods, I meane to all the Saints in all their diſperſions and quarters throughout ſo many Kingdomes, and ſuch a conſiderable part of the world as hath beene mentioned, ſo that you may cauſe them to riſe up before you and call you bleſſed; I beſeech you doe not betray this firſt borne opportunity of Heaven: looke upon it as a great and ſolemne invitation from God himſelfe unto you, to do greater things for the world, at leaſt for the Chriſtian world, then ever you did unto this day; or then ever you are like to doe the ſecond time, yea then any particular Chriſtian State ever did, or is like to doe while the world ſtands. God hath prepared and fitted a Table for you large enough, if you will but ſpread and furniſh it, with ſuch proviſions as are under your hand, that you may feaſt, and give royall entertainement, to the whole houſhold of faith, almoſt throughout the whole world at once. And ſhall it now ſeeme any great thing in our ages, or be in the leaſt meaſure grievous unto any man or woman of you, even to laviſh his gold out of bagges, to beſtow his whole ſubſtance, to deveſt himſelfe of all he poſſeſſeth in this world, even to his ſhooe latchet, to furniſh and ſet out ſuch an occaſion as this is, like it ſelf? Shall not the very

conſcience and comfortable remembrance of ſuch a thing as this done with uprightneſſe and ſimplicity of heart by you be a thouſand times better then any ſuperfluities of Silver, or of Gold, or of meats, or of drinkes, or of houſes, or of jewels, or of apparrell, whatſoever? Nay: if we ſhall bring poverty, and nakedneſſe, and hunger, and thirſt upon our ſelves, to purchaſe and procure it, will it not be better then an eſtate, then cloathing? then meate and drinkes to us? will it not take out the burning, and allay the bitterneſſe of all theſe? Doubtleſſe the honour and conſcience of the fact, will beare all the charges, and anſwer all the expence of it to the full. The opportunity and occaſion is ſo rich and glorious, that it calls to remembrance (as ſometimes the ſhadow doth the ſubſtance) the great opportunity that was before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſalvation of the world: We know that he *being rich* became poore: that the world through him might be made rich. You have the pattern in the mount before you: See that according to your line and meaſure you make all things like to it.

[***]

FINIS.

Right Honourable, Right VVorshipfull, and you the rest of the Worthy Inhabitants of this great and famous City.

TO engage you all as one man, to rise up at once in your might for the preservation and defense, as well of your selves as of your Citie against that whirlewinde of cruelty and blood which rends and teares the Kindome in pieces where it falls. You shall doe well to consider; that your selves in particular, and this your Citie are the great hatred and wrath and indignation of thesemen: What they have done unto others whether great or small in wayes of hostility, violence and blood, throughout the Land, they have done it chiefely in relation to you and your ruine, all the Mountaines they have cast down, and the vallyes they have fild up, have beene to prepare themselves a way to you and your City. They have practised in cruelty hitherto, and trained up their right hand in blood, that by that time they come to you, they may be Butchers by occupation: they have taught their right hand terrible things against others, that their right hand might teach them terrible things against you: they have forced a disposition of crueltie upon themselves, to practise cruell things upon others, that so by custome it might become naturall to them by that time they shall come to do execution upon you. They have tempered a cup, the mixture whereof is red, and they poure out hereof daily, but you are their wicked ones that must be made to wring out the dreggs thereof & to drink them up. The rods wherewith they chastise your Brethern elsewhere, favourers of the same cause with you, will (you must looke) be turned into Scorpions when they come to you: and if *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*, and other parts of the Land have been punished seven-fold, *London* (doubtlesse) shall be punished seventy times seven fold if they shall enter and possesse the Gates thereof. These heights and depths of their rage and fury against you and your City are demonstrable upon these 5 grounds.

First, That purity of Religion, which is a scourge in their sides, and thornes in their eyes, hath its Throne amongst you. That generation, which is the great abhorring of their soule: I meane the generation of the righteous, of men and women fearing God, which are in other places by tens and by fifties, are with you by hundreds and by thousands, your gleanings of them are better then the Vintage of other places; your Citie is a Sanctuary unto them, a place of refuge from all their quarters: you are looked upon as the great friends, and favourers, and protectors of them: You and your City have been the great Bullwork against those Prelaticall invasions, wherewith the Kingdome was so sorely infested and annoyed of late, & wherewith the truth and purity of Religion professed in it, was in danger of being turned upside downe: Had not this City of yours been a morsell too big for them to swallow, had it not stuck so long in their Throats as it did, the whole Kingdome would have gone down merrily without any straining; but now this sticking in their throats as it did, hath caused them to vomit and cast up what they had devoured otherwise. And this (doubtlesse) is one maine ground and cause of their advancing and hightening themselves in malice, and purposes of revenge against you: you are the principall shield and Buckler of that Religion which they labour to destroy and root up root and branch, not out of the Land only, but out of the whole world, if it were in their power.

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Secondly, You and your City are looked upon, as the chiefe protection and safeguard of that Honourable Assembly and Court of Parliament, and those worthy Members thereof, who have not prevaricated, or turned head upon the Kingdome, and the great trust reposed in them, but stand by the cause they have undertaken against all the fiery encounters and oppositions both of men and devils. These being the men, whose blood must be the ransome of these Sons of *Belial*, if ever they be redeemed out of the hand of death and condemnation, which they have drawne upon their heads by those desperate courses they have run, and you being the men (as they judge, and herein judge not much amisse) that chiefly stand between them and their ransome, and will not suffer them to drink that blood that should heale them: You can expect none other, but that that Spirit of malice and blood which possesseth them, should rage and roare against you, more then others, and that the furnace of their indignation shall be het seven times hotter then ordinary for your burning; when men are bent, and have any strong desires to offer violence or doe mischiefe unto others, and are opposed in the execution of their desires herein, it is commonly found, that they double the strength of their desires to doe mischiefe to those that oppose them in such a way, above the desires they had of doing mischiefe to those others. Thus the men of *Sodom*, having an intent to offer violence to those two men (as they supposed them to be) that were come to *Lots* House, and *Lot* interposing himselfe to prevent and hinder the execution of those evill intentions, they threatned him, that *they would deale worse with him, then they would with them*, Gen. 19. 9. and the reason hereof is plaine; because men seldome desire any thing with so great a desire, as they doe not to be opposed or hindred in the prosecution of their desires: They can more willingly quit their desires of many things which yet please them, freely and of themselves, then they can indure strongly to be opposed and interrupted in the satisfaction of them: This then is another reason, why you should be the height of their malice and revenge.

Thirdly, They know that you and your City are the Parents (as it were) that have begotten and brought forth all that opposition which hath appeared elsewhere, or beene raised against them and their proceedings in the Land: that it hath beene *your zeale*, in raising men and armes, and moneys, *that hath provoked* multitudes in the Land to do likewise. They looke upon others as partly passive in that very activenesse wherein they have declared themselves against them, and so make them (it's like) an allowance accordingly in their hatred and thoughts of revenge against them. But upon you they looke not onely as meerely active against them out an inward principle of your owne, but as actuating and animating others also. And therefore what they deduct from, or abate in their hatred towards these, they will adde to their hatred and malice against you: you must looke to pay for your selves and for your children too. Men use to be more mercifull to those that are drawne by others to practise evill against them, in case they come under their power, then to those that provoke and whet them on to doe it. God himselfe laid a heavier punishment upon *Eve*, then he did upon *Adam*, because she was the temptresse, and partly by her example, partly by her solicitation wrought upon his infirmitie, and drew him into part and fellowship with her in the sinne. Your righteousnesse is their sinne.

Fourthly, you are the great *remora* and barre in the way of their proceedings, you separate betweene them and their desires, betweene them and their so dearely beloved ends: there is a contrary gale blowes so strong and stiffe from your quarter, that they cannot make the port or Haven; that they have beene bound for this long time; You are they that multiply their sorrows, and increase their paines in bringing forth: you make them buy their gold at a dearer rate, then they are willing, and had hope to have bought it: you keep them still in the sweat of their brows, whereas they had hoped before this, to have been eating their bread. You are to

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them as *Mordecays* sitting in the Gate was to *Haman*, all his honour, and greatnesse, and favour with the King, *did not availe him*, he was not himselfe for all his great enjoyments, because *Mordecai* was not yet brought under, to lick the dust at his feet: so all the successe that these men have in other parts of the Land, their plundering of this town, and of that, all the rapine and spoyle they have made, all the prey and booty they have taken, their seizing upon this man and upon that, in a word, all that they have done, or have hope to doe otherwise, will give them little satisfaction, will not make them fat, so long as you and your City are in peace, and able to withstand them. And therefore as *Haman* hated *Mordecai* more then all the nation of the Jews besides, and sought the ruine and destruction of these, only or chiefly by way of subordination and reference to his (as appeares by the Story) for he had no quarrell to them, but for *Mordecays* sake, and upon occasion of that offence given by him. Even so (doubtlesse) those men of wickednesse we speak of, burn in hatred and desires of revenge against you, more then they doe against all other places in the Land besides: and what outrages and insolencies of violence they practise elsewhere, is chiefly to accommodate and strengthen their hand, and to be subservient unto them for the rapine and ruine of you and your City. Their plundring, and pillaging, and spoiling in other places, is but the tuning of their instruments, the plundring and pillaging of you, would be playing out of their song or ditty: were it not for you, they might have all things according to their hearts desire: they might eat those apples their soules so much lust after, they might feede fat upon the sweete bread of Romish Superstitions and Doctrines. They might have Organs, and Altars, Cringings, and Crouchings, they might have Copes, and Surplisses, Wafers, and Tapers, Crucifixes, and Crosses, Pilgrimages, and Pictures, with all the accoutrements, and the whole prophane glory of the Romish Sinagogue. Were it not for you they might have Lucifer put againe into Heaven, and Angels of light throwne downe into Hell in stead of him; Prelates, I meane, restored to their former thrones and dignities, and faithfull Ministers of the Gospell, the great troublers of the Israel of the Devill, troden and trampled on like clay and mire in the streets: they might, were it not for you have every man of them a doore open which leadeth to his hearts desire. They that desired to live loosely, might doe it without paying any tribute of being checked or reproved for it; and so they that had a minde to live prophanely, to oppresse, to tyrannize, to be drunken, to be uncleane, &c. they might have gone roundly to Hell, every man his way, no man asking why doe you so, which (indeede) is the summe of all happinesse that these men desire or seeke after. Whereas you and your City not being made their footstoole, they cannot get up into those thrones; the Summer fruits that their soules so much lust after doe not ripen, because of the cold aire that breathes upon them from your Citie. So that it is no marvell, if the spoile and ruine of your Citie be the first borne of all the designes of their rage and cruelties. You are the heire that stand betweene them and the inheritance, if they can kill you, the inheritance shall be theirs.

Fifthly, and lastly, you and your Citie are looked upon as the great Magazine of wealth, riches and treasure in the Kingdome: the garden of the *Hesperides*, where the trees grow that beare the golden Apples, is knowne to bee compassed about with the walls of your Citie. Now the love of these men is so above measure excessive to your Silver and gold, their soules cleave so to it, that except you will give it them into their bosomes quietly, and in a way of peace, they must needs, though with the extremest perill and hazard of their owne lives, attempt yours for your moneyes sake. This wine of yours lookes so red and pleasantly in the glasse upon them, that their hearts are inflamed with it. yea the zeale of it hath so farre eat them up, that they cannot live without it; you must give it them, you must let them have it one way or other, or else they die. And therefore their resolution is to make the adventure how-

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ſoever upon you, may well be like that of the foure Lepers (2 *King.*7.5.) to adventure themſelves into the Campe of the *Aramites*; if they ſate ſtill, or if they went into the Citie they were certainely dead: and if they went amongſt the *Aramites*, if the worſt came to the worſt, *they could but die*; but by making the attempt they might poſsibly live; ſo that deſperate Generation wee ſpeake of being not able to live, not knowing how to doe, how to ſubſiſt without the ſpoile of your City, and the poſſeſsion of your treaſure, looking upon themſelves as dead men without it, may in a way of ordinary diſcourſe and reaſon, come to this iſſue in point of reſolution againſt you to make the attempt, and venture upon you, howſoever if they ſhall miſcary in making the attempt, they were but dead men; if they ſhall ſit ſtill and make no attempt upon you, they were but dead men neither: and this was more certainly death, then the other, in making the attempt they might (haply) proſper and ſo live, you have this paſſage, 2*Chron.*14. 14. that *Aſa* and his men ſpoiled all the Cities of the *Ethiopians*, for this reaſon, *becauſe there was much in them. And they ſpoiled all the Cities* (ſaith the text) *for there was exceeding much ſpoile in them.* The aboundance of wealth and treaſure in them, was the reaſon why they were plundered, and ranſacked, and deſtroyed. Plenty of ſilver and gold are of dangerous conſequence and influence, to advance the courage and reſolutions of enemies; to turne weak men into ſtrong, and cowards and ſuch as are fearefull otherwiſe, into men of valour and reſolution. So that now this is another reaſon very conſiderable, why you and your Cities above all other perſons or places in the Kingdome ſhould be predeſtinated to ſpoile and ruine in theſe mens councels, intentions and decrees: becauſe in other places they can but gleane; but here they know they ſhall have a full harveſt.

Now then, it being a thing ſo apparent and evident upon theſe reaſons (and many more poſsible of like importance might be added) that you and your City are principally intended for the great ſacrifice to be offred upon the ſervice to the rage, malice, hatred and cruelty of theſe men, doth it not concerne you in ſpeciall manner; more then all the Kingdome beſides, to look about you, and quit your ſelves like men, yea and more then like men (if it were poſsible) to caſt if it were your whole ſubſtance into the treaſurie of your preſervation and peace? Let any thing you ſhall keep back of what is in your power to do or give for the advancement of the great ſervice that hath been recommended unto you, every time you ſee it or think upon it, be as an *omen*, or preſage unto you, of the loſſe and ſpoile of your City, if you ſhall ſtill detaine it. You know that whereas ordinarily men uſe to cut or clip their haire with ſheeres or ſiſſers, in ſome diſeaſes which are dangerous and violent, they ſhave it cloſe with a razor, preferring baldneſſe and nakedneſſe for a time, before loſſe of life. In like manner, though moderation and ſobriety of expence be the commendation of wiſe men at other times; yet caſes of exigencie alter the rule, and make any thing leſſe then what men are able to doe with their utmoſt might, extremity of weakneſſe and miſpriſion. Nothing leſſe then all this is like to doe any thing.

Ut jugulent homines, ſurgunt de nocte Latrones?
Ut teipſum ſerves, non expergiſceris? Horat.

FINIS.